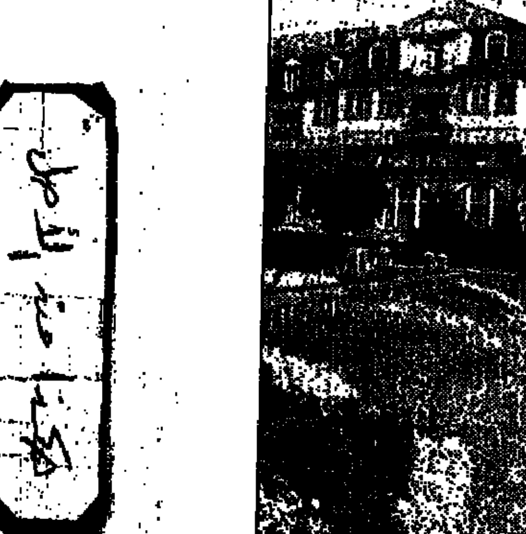



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## Super polite superpowers restart arms talks

DIE ZEIT

The superpowers have been back on talking terms in a fresh round of missile talks at Geneva since mid-January.

They have resumed meetings and are alternating between the Soviet mission, behind its tall steel fence in the Avenue de la Paix, and the no less resplendently fenced-in US mission on the Route de Pregny.

Just as they did after Reykjavik the superpowers are busily proclaiming that the way to agreement is now open.

Yet so far they have behaved like two super-polite gentlemen blocking the path to arms control by saying, "After you!" — "No, after you!"

True, both the Americans and the Russians are evidently interested in coming to terms — but strictly their own respective terms.

President Reagan, under pressure after the Iran arms-for-hostages and Nicaraguan Contra funding affair, could well do with a foreign policy success at present.

For weeks he has been on the lookout for news headlines to overshadow the steady flow of revelations about alleged dirty tricks in the White House basement.

The two sides, President Reagan said in his New Year's address to Soviet citizens, had come closer together than ever before.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov is similarly showing signs of impatience. In 1987, he announced at the end of last year, he would be devoting his full energy to negotiating disarmament terms with the United States.

Colourless specialist Viktor Karpov has been replaced as head of the Soviet delegation by Yuli Vorontsov, an America expert and close associate of Anatoly Dobrynin, the central committee secretary in charge of foreign ties.

In Moscow official assurances are given that the Soviet Union is keen to come to terms with Washington while President Reagan is still in office, i.e. until the beginning of 1989.

We don't want to waste time until the next US Presidential elections in two years, Soviet officials say.

But what use are they to make of the time that lies ahead? The degree to which this issue preoccupies action men in the Kremlin is indicated by their persistent questioning of Western visitors in recent months.

Western visitors have been bombarded with questions amounting to whether they felt a compromise might be reached with President Reagan before the United States is preoccupied with the Presidential election campaign from the beginning of next year.

"You know the Americans," they are asked. "What do you think?" The answer Mr Gorbachov has consistently heard will come as no surprise.

Only with President Reagan could he hope to come terms in the near future, he was told. Only he could carry the votes of conservatives in the US Senate, where treaty ratification requires a two-thirds majority.

Henry Kissinger recently outlined the schedules for possible agreement. "To wait for the next two years," he wrote, "amounts in effect to forfeiting four to six years . . .

"A new President must first get his hand in. He has to appoint a new Administration. He has to establish relations with Congress on a new footing.

"On strictly practical grounds alone, serious negotiations would hardly be possible before the first year of a new President's term had ended. Even then it would still be a while before terms were agreed."

This line of argument has a convincing ring, but pressure of time does not always lead to readiness to compromise. Quite the opposite.

It now seems likelier than before the Iran rumpus that President Reagan will insist on SDI come what may and be kept to his policy line by his right-wing aides.

Defence Secretary Weinberger has announced that the first stage of an SDI system could be operational by the early 1990s.

"Reagan," says a close associate of the President's, "will never give up SDI. It forms part of his political legacy, like the Reagan Doctrine, fiscal reform and reducing government influence."

It would seem virtually out of the question that the ageing President, who will soon be 76, might be prepared to consider abandoning his convictions. He wants to come to terms but isn't prepared to abandon his pet project.

Besides, he probably couldn't do so even if he wanted. Robert Ellsworth, a fellow-Republican, former Assistant Defence Secretary and now one of the most independent observers of the Washington scene, has this to say about what would happen if President Reagan were unexpectedly to show signs of willingness to compromise on SDI:

"There would then be an inferno on the right wing of the Republican Party — and Reagan would back down."

Spurgeon Keeny, a long-serving aide to several US Presidents in the disarmament business and now head of the independent Arms Control Association, feels President Reagan is incapable of gaining sufficient control over his Administration to negotiate treaty terms ready for signing in the time still available — even assuming the White House were willing.

"It took us a year to clarify all the details of Salt 2 under Carter even though everyone favoured it: the State Department, the Pentagon, the CIA."

Today, in contrast, the White House no longer gives the lead and trench warfare between government departments goes on regardless.

The Reagan Administration is structurally incapable of coming to arms control terms with the Soviet Union — now more than ever.

But if the United States is marking time might not the Soviet Union be able to take the first step? Mr Gorbachov clearly seems keen to do so.

Since Reykjavik, when the Soviet leader insisted that all SDI tests outside research laboratories must be ruled out, official and semi-official Soviet envoys have hinted just about everywhere that this point might be reconsidered.

What mainly matters, they say, is that no tests are carried out in space.

The crucial question, however, is whether the Soviet leader is willing — and has the political clout — to loosen the string of the Soviet all-or-nothing (no progress without strict agreement on SDI) package.

There are good reasons why he might be well-advised to do so. For one, the Gordian knot of linkage undermines the credibility of the Soviet claim to be prepared for disarmament.

A man who, like Mr Gorbachov, seeks to impress world opinion with large-scale visions of disarmament can hardly afford to split hairs.

Besides, the new precondition runs counter to earlier Soviet objections. Before Reykjavik the Soviet Union was prepared to come to separate terms on scrapping medium-range missiles.

The moderate tenor of the Soviet reaction to the latest US breach of Salt 2 serves merely to confirm the equanimity with which Soviet leaders, civilian and military, view the current strategic balance — the equanimity of someone who went ahead with his own arms build-up in good time.

Last but not least, SDI is no longer, to a large extent, the menace it once was for the Soviet Union.

Andrei Sakharov is now convinced, as are less independent Soviet experts, that "a powerful opponent will always find ways and means of outwitting any defence system in outer space — and at far less expense."

What is more, the clouds of uncertainty are increasingly descending on the future of SDI in Washington. Congress has cut budget allocations for the ambitious programme more than once.

Now the US budget deficit is weighing increasingly heavily, the Democrats control the Senate as well as the House of Representatives and President Rea-

Continued on page 2



**As polling booths open . . .**

**Chancellor Kohl (left) and his Social Democrat challenger, Johannes Rau, make their eve of election appeals for voters to turn out in today's general election. Kohl's conservative coalition is heavily favoured (see page 3).**

(Photos: Sven Simon)

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## ■ WORLD AFFAIRS

# Canada has a dual role across Atlantic

**Frankfurter Allgemeine**
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Canada, the old adage has it, was invented in defiance of geography and in defiance of the United States.

The geography is unchanged, but the rancour of Canada's early years has long been superseded by both adaptation and self-assertion.

"We are a European nation," a Canadian diplomat said in Toronto at a recent meeting of the *Atlantik-Brücke* with its North American counterpart.

This is a fact that threatens to be forgotten on both sides of the Atlantic.

It deserves to be recalled, just as appropriate conclusions then need to be reached.

If, then, Canada is both a European and an American country, it certainly follows that it must play a dual role.

In dealings with the Europeans it must first be the other North American ally, a part it last visibly played, from 1984 to 1986, at the Stockholm conference on confidence-building and security measures in Europe.

At the same time Canada is Europe's advocate and intermediary in North America, a task it can fairly tackle as the second-largest country in the world with a population of 25 million, respectable political credentials and a sound economy.

In the post-war period the Canadians played their European role pragmatically and with sound judgement, and no-one derived greater benefit than the Germans.

The Canadians played a leading part in ensuring that containment of the Soviet Union evolved from a unilateral American commitment to a treaty system.

They were first to appreciate the connection between Western security and German rearmament.

They also made it clear that the Germans might be either the sinners of Europe or its defenders — but not both.

The maple leaf country now faces a twofold uncertainty in respect of trade ties with the United States and the strategic division of labour in North America.

In 1985 the Canadians, disappointed by Europe's failure to respond to their "third option" policy and alarmed by protectionist trends in Washington, sought to negotiate comprehensive free trade terms with the United States.

They did so against the background of a gradual transition from commodity exports to exports of industrial goods and 30 per cent of the Canadian GNP being export-oriented.

Eighty per cent of Canadian exports go to the United States (a 1964 pact ensuring integration of the automobile industry) and 75 per cent of Canadian imports come from the US.

The current target is neither a common market nor a customs union with the United States, both of which would call Canada's economic self-determination into question.

All Canada wants is to ensure that it retains free access to the US market.

Yet even this pragmatic, defensive approach is viewed as socially controversial in Canada. The long-term consequences for the Canadian way of life are viewed with even greater misgivings.

Canada attaches to its cultural identity the importance the United States attaches to national security.

For 200 years Canada's cultural identity has been dominated by the clash with the US.

The Americans believe in market forces, the Canadians in strict regulations.

They always saw the Wild West as a nightmare, not as a dream.

The present negotiations will take years and their outcome is uncertain, arguably due — at least in part — to the doldrums in which Premier Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative government is currently languishing.

But the status quo is not under consideration as a possible solution to long-term economic changes. The United

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# Bonn goes back on to the Security Council

This year sees the Federal Republic of Germany back on the UN Security Council.

It last served a two-year term on the UN's highest executive body in 1977/78.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher rightly described the endorsement of the Federal Republic by a substantial majority in the UN General Assembly as evidence of international confidence in the continuity and predictability of Bonn's foreign policy.

He also recalled that the next Bonn government would be required to shoulder extra international political responsibility. Security Council membership is no sinecure.

Decisions have to be reached on what are usually conflicting interests, calling for resolution and firmness of conviction unless opportunism is to prevail.

International gratitude to UN Security Council members is a scarce commodity.

The Federal Republic is fortunate in joining three other members of the European Community.

Six of the seven Western economic summit countries are also sitting members of the Security Council.

For a while the West's voice will count for more — a more that can be used to help ensure a more stable international order.

Euphoria is not recommended, however. Non-permanent members of the UN Security Council cannot be said to sit at the controls of world affairs.

The Security Council's role and powers are strictly limited.

As originally envisaged by the UN's founding members it was to be a watchdog of collective security exclusively empowered to impose binding measures on all UN members.

Offenders against the law and the peace were if need be to be brought to reason by joint military sanctions.

This plan came apart at the seams in the clash of interests in a world divided into blocs.

The Security Council has nowhere near fully exercised its peacekeeping potential.

Over the years it has left a lasting impression of inefficacy, half-measures and feeble compromises.

Accusations of reluctance to arrive at decisions, whether justified or not, have led to many serious conflicts not even being brought before the Security Council.

Two days before Christmas, to take a recent instance, the Security Council was called on to deal with the Gulf War, which Iran and Iraq have waged for over six years.

Its sorry conclusion was that the escalation of hostilities was "alarming" and "regrettable." Both sides were called on to sound out opportunities of reaching a peaceful settlement of the conflict in close collaboration with the UN Secretary-General.

It need hardly be added that such a toothless resolution will make not an iota of difference to the dreadful reality of war in the Gulf.

Even so, the Security Council's work is not in vain.

Peacekeeping operations manned by UN forces may not always have kept the peace in acute crises but they have definitely played a part in defusing conflicts and preventing unnecessary bloodshed.

The stationing of blue-helmeted UN forces in Cyprus and the Middle East is unquestionably a feather in the UN's cap even though modes of deployment might be improved.

What the Security Council and other UN bodies could well do with is the ability to prevent potential conflicts rather than waiting until a crisis has come to a head.

Maybe the Bonn delegation will succeed in making headway in this direction.

*Herbert Leiner*

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 2 January 1987)

Continued from page 1

gan's star is paling, Congress is even less likely to kowtow to Pentagon wishes.

There is one last and maybe crucial reason why Moscow might choose to make less fuss over SDI. It is the Congressional endeavour to commit the Reagan Administration in its SDI programme to the narrow limits defined in the ABM Treaty.

President Reagan and his SDI supporters have been trying for over a year to break the bounds of this treaty obligation. It is, indeed, the only context in which what happened at Reykjavik makes sense.

What President Reagan wanted, as he has consistently stressed, was an unhindered authorisation to research, test and develop anti-missile systems in outer space for 10 years.

Testing and developing anti-missile systems in outer space is banned by the terms of the ABM Treaty. President Reagan wanted to negotiate an exemption in Reykjavik.

The Soviet Union would hear nothing of the idea and insisted instead on even more stringent restrictions.

Congress might now be in a position to build a bridge over the gap that was so very apparent in Reykjavik. As the White House referred to the classified course of negotiations in its bid to break the bounds of the ABM Treaty a number of Senators demanded and were granted the right to examine the documents themselves.

Their report is expected any day now. What it will look like can be judged from the tenor of a letter by one of the Senators, Democrat Carl Levin, to Secretary of State Shultz in December.

The legal survey by the State Department's chief legal officer was incomplete and biased, he wrote, and the approach to the survey faulty from the outset.

Observers in Washington no longer doubt that Congress will to the best of its ability insist on the Reagan Administration abiding by the old interpretation of the ABM Treaty, probably by refusing to allocate funds for SDI tests that go further than permitted.

That, of course, might not be a copper-bottomed guarantee, yet it would still be a powerful signal to the Kremlin.

If you exercise restraint, it could be taken as meaning, we will clip the wings of the hawks surrounding Mr Reagan.

It is hard to say whether that will be enough to prompt Moscow to show greater goodwill. Mr Gorbachov would first have to make sure of the support of his fellow-leaders in the Kremlin.

In Reykjavik he was obliged to admit that his negotiation mandate was limited. The package had been put together not by him alone but by the collective leadership.

Just as there are those in the West who view the failure of the Reykjavik summit with evident satisfaction, so there were those in Moscow who did so.

Those who want nothing to do with the Reagan Administration will now insist that the knots securing the Soviet package stay firmly tied.

So there are few signs as yet that either of the superpowers, both of which are busy saying "After you!" to each other in Geneva, will take the crucial first step.

The major problems of arms control are doubtless being sounded out. Options for a later settlement may be discussed. But a breakthrough remains most unlikely.

In future less will depend on how Washington and Moscow negotiate with each other than on how they behave toward each other.

Can Congress clip the Pentagon's wings? Will the Kremlin honour this by exercising restraint? That, at present, is the brightest hope of disarmament.

The first proof of the pudding will be in February when the United States goes ahead with its next nuclear test in the Nevada desert.

Congress raised objections to this plan last autumn, although it failed to do so in a manner that was legally binding. This time it might be tempted to restrain the President more effectively.

The Soviet Union says its moratorium on nuclear tests is conditional on the United States following suit. A similar approach has been adopted in reverse on anti-satellite weapons.

Can arms control be achieved by means of reciprocal restraint? That would fall well short of the visions outlined in Reykjavik.

Yet it would be far from the worst solution for the interim until such time as Washington is back in business and fully capable of action.

*Christoph Bertram*

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 16 January 1987)

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## ■ THE GENERAL ELECTION

# The sound of stumbling is all that is disturbing the peace

Rarely has there been a general election campaign with so little content. None of the parties has proved capable of really tackling the challenges of the day.

It is not as if there is a shortage of issues: East-West relations, arms control, environmental and energy policies, unemployment and the demographic shifts in West German society.

With the polls making the result a foregone conclusion — a win for the governing coalition of CDU-CSU and the FDP — the CDU's main election slogan *Weiter so, Deutschland* reflects a mixture of complacency and helplessness.

Political consistency seems to be in greater demand than political alternatives. But there are signs this will change after the election.

How, for example, are the Social Democrats likely to respond to a clear election defeat or the CDU/CSU to a clear election victory?

The final stage of the election campaign is very much a twilight zone between the pre-election certainties and the post-election uncertainties.

The CDU/CSU has been stumbling over its internal foreign policy dispute and the FDP has been vacillating between adapting to and dissociating itself from conservative voters.

The SPD seems unable to vacillate in the same way due to the paralysing effect of the postponement of internal discussions on fundamental issues.

The Greens can afford to stage the permanent conflict between the pragmatic support of coalitions with other parties and the fundamentalistic rejection of such a policy, since other parties are not interested in coalescing anyway.

An atmosphere of fruitful political discussion was hardly to be expected in view of this lack of suspense and form.

Reference to the immediate problems facing political parties, however, cannot suffice to interpretat the current situation.

In reality, the loss of significance of politics is due to the exaggerated presence of political parties within the structure of society rather than their weakness.

The Basic Law, the (provisional) constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany, called upon political parties to become actively involved in the development of informed public opinion.

It was hoped that this might help overcome the traditional animosity towards political parties.

Parties were by no means intended to become direct institutions of the state.

They were neither supposed to "internalise" the functions of nor absorbed by the state.

Political parties were expected to play a significant role in the shaping of public opinion, but serve the interests of the constitution in doing so.

The "servants" in this political process, however, have long since become the "masters" of political procedures.

Supporting the development of informed public opinion no longer meant just formulating alternatives on behalf of the general public, but predetermining the categories and content of the opinions the public *should* have.



Admittedly, the fact that no-one can by-pass political parties to get into parliament ensures a functioning (in the traditional sense) of the parliamentary system.

However, the way in which lists of candidates are drawn up within the parties, i.e. without the codetermination of the entire membership or the electorate in the form of "primary elections", already produces an atmosphere of sterile conformity.

Although the five per cent barrier has kept certain extremist groups out of parliament it has also relieved the "traditional parties" from the need to respond speedily and vigilantly to new political movements and problems.

The fact that the Greens were at all able to move into the Bundestag and the various state parliaments under these circumstances shows what a backlog there was in this respect.

The influences of political parties extends far beyond the inviolable precints of parliamentarism.

Party politics has firmly established itself in many fields of public discussion.

The field of broadcasting is an alarming example.

Politicians have degenerated the electronic media into a mere accompanying factor rather than a countervailing power.

This trend towards conforming to party politics and its dictates can also be observed elsewhere.

Hardly a political discussion takes place in Protestant and Catholic academies without a "representative of the parties represented in the Bundestag" being invited to come along.

Political parties have superimposed their presence on public discourse.

Over the years they have oligopolised the formulation of all forms of politics.

The excessive inflation of party-political funding is a major contributory factor.

The parties themselves, admittedly, would like to extend their influence even further.

Democracy of the spoon-feeding variety, however, leads to greater inertia, since the parties have virtually no option but to pursue their policies in line with the principle of vote maximisation.

This means that the candidates with the greater say in party-political decisions are not those who think and talk along problem-oriented lines.

The party's strategy is geared to the marginal utility value of the electoral market.

Propaganda instead of truth is the resultant contraint.

'The increase in the function and the loss in the significance of conventional party politics has led to a pseudopoliticisation of the sociopolitical discourse *and a waning tactical significance* of real problems and alternatives.

'This form of ossification cannot last long in a free and democratic society without the ideas and interests which gradually build up finding their expression in some other way.

During the last legislative period under the SPD-FDP coalition there was no Bundestag debate on the fundamental misgivings which existed in both parties with regard to nuclear energy and the Nato twin-track decision.

At the same time, the peace movement enjoyed growing popularity, and opposition against nuclear power plants increased.

Opposition which was not catered for by official party-political channels was expressed all the more intensely during church group conferences and via citizens' action groups.

It was hardly surprising that the collapse of the SPD-FDP coalition in 1982 was not only accompanied by a CDU/CSU takeover of government power but also by the entry of the Greens into the Bundestag.

The period since 1982 can basically be described as an interregnum.

On the one hand, there was a clearly conservative trend, on the other hand, the agonising yet essential attempt to openly settle the conflict between traditional politics and serious social problems and between conventional political parties and new social movements.

It was hoped that this would prevent the conflict from getting bogged down in parliamentary politics.

Regardless of the criticism which can be levelled against the programmes and campaigns of the Greens they have, viewed objectively, played an integrating role in this process — despite their ambivalent attitude towards parliamentary activities.

This becomes obvious when the question is asked: what would have happened if their supporters and voters had dropped out of the system altogether?

Viewed objectively, the Social Democrats have also suffered from the difficulties involved in trying to do the political splits between the political centre of the conservative and liberal parties and the leftwing of the Greens.

What is more, there was substantial criticism of the SPD's confused programmatic compromises and the helpless attempts by the party's candidate for chancellor, Johannes Rau, to cover up the party's problems via conciliatory personalisation of the election campaign.

The coalition parties in Bonn, on the other hand, have conveniently benefitted from the problems facing their rivals, which in many cases reflect the more fundamental problems facing industrial society as a whole. Nevertheless, the CDU/CSU has had problems with its more right-wing voters.

Will conservative politicians heed what they have been preaching to the SPD, namely that mere ingratiation boosts the potential of rival parties on the fringes of the party-political spectrum?

This polarisation towards both the left- and right-wing is an indicator of the fact that the variety of opposing currents of thought threatens to sweep aside the previous inertia of the party system.

Even if the election campaign was boring and even if its outcome is more than clear there will be no standstill in the field of politics, merely an end to the lack of momentum of the interregnum period.

After the election at the latest things will liven up. So the drama that was missing from the election campaign may follow afterwards.

*Robert Leicht*

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 16 January 1987)

# A 95 year old is among the candidates

The oldest candidate in the election is a 95 year old who is standing for the *Mundige Bürger* (Responsible Citizens) party. There are several candidates aged 18.

Details of the candidates were issued by the president of the Federal Statistical Office and Federal Returning Officer, Egon Hölder.

One candidate in four is a woman (685 out of 2,690). In the last election in 1982 only one in five (518 out of 2,699) was a woman.

The Greens have the most women (41.7 per cent), followed by the SPD (27.5 per cent), the CDU (24.4 per cent), the CSU (20.4 per cent) and the FDP (19.7 per cent). The *Frauenpartei* (The Women's Party), has only women candidates.

About 45 million citizens of the Federal Republic will be entitled to vote on 25 January. Hölder says this is more than any previous general election.

The figure in 1983 was 44.1 million and roughly 31 million during the Republic's first election in 1949.

One of the main reasons for this increase in the number of voters is the fact that people can now vote at 18 (formerly 21).

Most voters are women (women: roughly 24 million; men: roughly 21 million).

There has been a further increase in the number of voters over the age of sixty (1987: 11.9 million; 1983: 11.3 million).

Female voters are in a clear majority in this group (women: 7.6 million; men: 4.3 million).

A total of 16 political parties have been officially permitted to take part in the election.

These parties have drawn up 95 lists of candidates in the individual *Länder*. The average age of the candidates is just under 44.

In the SPD the oldest candidate is party chairman Willy Brandt (73), in the CDU 72 year-old Herbert Czaja, and in the CSU party chairman Franz Josef Strauss (71).

Of all the parties represented in the Bundestag the Greens record the lowest average age (just under 39).

According to Federal Returning Officer Hölder 450,000 polling officers will be helping out on 25 January.

370,000 of these will be working in an honorary capacity in 60,000 polling stations alone.

As in 1983, organisation costs will probably amount to roughly DM60bn.

Hölder expects the provisional election result to be announced at about midnight.

*dpa*

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 January 1987)




■ GERMANY

# Berlin grafts a new face on to its old urbanity

**This is one of an occasional series to mark the 750th anniversary of Berlin this year. The author, Joachim Fest, is a historian and senior member of the editorial staff of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.***

For many years visitors to Berlin were struck by the city's progressive decline and loss of vitality. From one visit to the next they were sadly aware of growing paralysis and resignation.

These qualities were accompanied by a special neurosis that *surprisingly* seemed to deform even the hale and hearty character of Berliners, who showed signs of unexpected self-pity and lachrymosity.

A further factor was that Berlin had forfeited its special role and was felt in many quarters to be merely a tiresome vestige of German history and the unresolved East-West conflict.

The constant quest for a new tag for the city's role, a successor to that of a "frontline city" and "shop-window" on the Western world, is characteristic.

This sad impression has undergone a total change in recent years, and a series of scandals involving dubious friendships between politicians and the building trade did no more than temporarily and insignificantly dent the new impression.

Only a few years ago three governments in succession were forced to resign in connection with similar scandals. Mayor Diepgen has serenely survived the latest crop.

It has less to do with his personal integrity. His predecessors had that too. What is different is that latest allegations of bribery and corruption came at a time of fresh and growing self-confidence.

Richard von Weizsäcker started the ball rolling toward this new self-confidence, although it is still hard to define just what he accomplished as Mayor.

Cynics continue to argue that he did little more than give his blessing from on high to whatever was done, but maybe that was just what a city racked by self-doubt needed at the time.

Another point in his favour was that he was able to deploy his authority and firmness of principle, a firmness that never fostered disunity, against an SPD poverty-stricken for ideas.

The Social Democrats sought to hide their lack of ideas by assiduously courting the *Zeitgeist*, or spirit of the age, but it was a spirit of perplexity it sought to use rather than surmount.

A wide range of reasons can now be put forward to account for the change of climate in Berlin. There is also a range of symptoms that soon assume the status of reasons. The city now has a net inflow of workers and businesses. Commercial investment has increased spectacularly and since 1980 has been up to 10 times the national average.

Berlin now boasts technology transfer and innovation centres that have not only led to new businesses being set up and jobs created but also been models of their own and tempted an increasing number of newcomers to take a closer look at the city.

Much the same can be said for health policy, in which, to quote Health Senator Ulf Fink, Berlin has done more than Bonn has dared even to think.

There has been a comparable batch of new ideas and fresh starts in environmental protection, city planning and the arts.

The arts have at times seemed threatened by a surfeit of public offerings, but standards have also been set by private initiative.

The result has been the city's new attraction, especially to under-40s, attributed to its openness and to its being a number of cities in one, combining contradictions ranging from seedy Kreuzberg to smart Kurfürstendamm.

Many people see these contrasts as mirroring their own contradictions, with the result that the so-called identity problem creates far fewer difficulties than in the past.

Like all preferences, this new attraction is hard to define. It probably has something to do with the urbanity Berlin has retained despite the crises it has been through and with the vitality and modernity that convey such a powerful feeling of authentic contemporariness.

It certainly now does so more than Munich, which long enjoyed a reputation for being Germany's "secret capital city" but boasts an "in" set who have made the Bavarian capital the newly-rich city Berlin long was.

It also does so more than Hamburg, which with its combination of pin-striped suits and progressive outlook is seen by many younger people as a model of bourgeois propriety.

The changing face of Berlin has led to a new lament that has replaced complaints about the city's encrustations and provinciality. The latest complaint is that despite many perceptible changes Berlin still has too few opportunities for getting on in one's career.

True enough, the consequences of long years of quitting and depletion cannot be offset overnight. So one of the city government's most urgent tasks will be to persuade more firms to return to Berlin. It will need to persuade management boards of large firms, entire production units and small firms with a highly skilled payroll.

The old laments continue, of course, especially complaints that Berlin is *kaputt*.

Criticism of this kind likes to feel it is in line with Berlin's critical tradition, but in reality it is devalued by being too lachrymose and sounds more like ageing media hacks turning out the same old story.

Berlin has two years of celebration ahead of it. This year is the 750th anniversary of its incorporation as a city. Next year will be its turn as "Europe's cultural capital city." At present it has more of the prerequisites that lend substance to such celebrations than has been the case for years.

*Joachim Fest*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 January 1987)



# Prisoner sales earn East cash and goods

Talk by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of "political prisoners" in the GDR has brought back to the limelight the longstanding ransom payments made by Bonn governments in return for the release of convicts by East Berlin.

Human rights organisations estimate that successive Federal governments have bought the freedom of roughly 50,000 inmates of GDR jails since 1963 in return for payments in cash and kind.

Views continue to differ on whether this practice must be seen as a humanitarian gesture or as a trade in human lives.

The prisoners whose release is secured in this way, and possibly they alone, are in no two minds on whether the trade is good or bad.

Many released prisoners, usually sent over to the West in buses, served sentences for attempting to escape to the West, mainly via Hungary, Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia (very few try to escape across the extremely dangerous *intra*-German border), which is a criminal offence in East Germany.

Article 213 of the GDR criminal code, headed "illegal border-crossing," an offence also known as "flight from the Republic," provides for up to two years' gaol for trying to escape to the West.

The GDR treats would-be refugees and others convicted of "criminal offences against the state and public order" as common criminals.

East Berlin was quick to refute the charge made by Chancellor Kohl at an election campaign meeting that "over 2,000 of our fellow-countrymen are kept as political prisoners in gaols and concentration camps" in the GDR.

An official statement proclaimed that there were no political prisoners in the GDR other than people convicted of war crimes, Nazi offences, the murder of Jews and crimes against humanity.

Yet the trade in prisoners continues. As a rule Bonn government officials name prisoners suitable for "trading." Lobbying by relatives in the West may well influence the order in which their names are proposed.

For the GDR an East Berlin lawyer, Wolfgang Vogel, has gained a reputation for settling such difficult human and family problems.

The GDR generally responds to Western lists of prisoners suitable for trading by making counter-proposals, such as submitting a list of urgently needed products.

As soon as agreement is reached goods or cash are exchanged and the prisoners are bussed to the West.

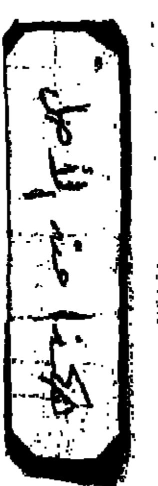
No official statements on the trade are issued by either Bonn or East Berlin, largely because of the dubious ethics of the procedure.

Unofficially Bonn officials say it is an essential means of assisting otherwise helpless victims of the division of Germany.

Payments made to the GDR are seen by East Berlin as compensation for the cost of education and vocational training of released convicts. There can, it is stressed, be no question of making a profit.

A Western diplomat in East Berlin

**Continued on page 5**





■ PEOPLE

# Washington appoints new man to top Nato post

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The new US permanent representative on Nato's North Atlantic Council in Brussels is Alton Keel, a 43 year-old engineer and expert on arms research.

Keel, who was deputy to Admiral Poindexter from July 1986 on the National Security Council, succeeds David Abshire as the USA's Nato "ambassador."

Abshire will be moving into the White House (with ministerial status) to take exclusive charge of gathering the documents on the Iragua affair and thus trying to clear up the biggest scandal in the history of the Reagan Administration.

During the past three years Abshire has been able to convince an intractable US Congress of the need and meaningfulness of close military and industrial cooperation with the USA's alliance partners in Europe.

He deserves the credit, he boasts, for having persuaded the future chairman of the powerful Senate Armed Forces Committee in Washington, Senator Sam Nunn (Dem., Georgia) to stop threatening to withdraw American troops from Europe because of the alleged lack of willingness of Nato partners to bear their fair share of defence costs.

What is more, he claims responsibility for having gained Nunn's support for a legal rider envisaging closer collaboration between the USA and Europe in this field.

Abshire's main concern is whether Nato will be able to effectively counter the expected increase in the threat posed by the conventional forces of Warsaw Pact countries in the 1990s.

The ability to do so is all the more vital in view of the fact that the nuclear threat is also likely to increase.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Abshire believes, the Soviet Union will have reached the peak of its military power and at the same time "find itself in a desperate economic situation."

Moscow could then be in a position to spread out its naval and air force units along the Norwegian coast, cut off Nato's northern flank without firing a single shot and prevent a seaborne reinforcement of troops from Western Europe.

Without a rapid modernisation of the alliance's conventional forces, Abshire claims, it will be impossible to develop a credible deterrent to this threat.

This, however, means abandoning expensive national defence policy priorities for the sake of greater collective security efforts.

Abshire views his main task in Brussels as that of maintaining close links with the Congress and the Pentagon.

For European partners he is thus a kind of "canvasser" for European worries and interests.

This certainly applies to the technical, economic and strategic questions dealt with regularly by the North Atlantic Council.

It is difficult to say how great Abshire's empathy for the specific historical circumstances in Europe is.

Developments on the European continent have not always been determined by power politics alone.

In many instances there has been a clear difference between the American way of thinking and acting and the course pursued by individual European nations.

Americans often become impatient when faced by patterns of behaviour which have evolved from centuries of historical experience and when confronted by deeply-rooted national sentiment.

The accompanying problems cannot be resolved with the help of the typical American leaning towards pragmatism.

This approach has become all the more pronounced in Washington during recent years now that the generation of Americans in political and administrative power has little in common with the "founding fathers of the Atlantic alliance".



**David Abshire . . . out.**



**Alton Keel . . . in.**

(Photos: dpa)

The new generation in the corridors of power is more familiar with the major post-war traumas — Watergate, Vietnam and Iran — than with the much more significant decision made in the mid-1940s for a permanent link with Europe.

The European partners on the Council are well-aware that this often leads to a misjudgement of Western Europe's true abilities as well as to the attitude that Europeans should be left to their own devices.

The USA's new man in Brussels served in the navy and the air force, dealt with matters of national security in the Budget Department, was executive chairman of the Special Committee of Inquiry into the Challenger explosion and has so far worked on Nato problems only within the framework of aeronautical and space research.

Although Keel has excellent scientific qualifications he still has to show whether he is familiar with Europe's political problems and whether he will be able to make use of the political side of Nato to exert a favourable influence on East-West relations.

This aspect has become more and more important since the Harmel Report was published almost 20 years ago.

For Europeans it is a yardstick for what can be achieved in terms of effective detente while at the same time credibly safeguarding defence.

This is particularly true when new stimuli emerge, for example, in the wake of the Reykjavik summit.

In no other post can an official representative of the United States get to know European security interests and European political attitudes so well as on the North Atlantic Council.

The reports passed on to Washington by the US Nato representative in Brussels can help to prevent the kind of political "parochialism" the "fathers of Nato" hoped to put an end to once and for all.

*Jan Reifenberg*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 January 1987)

*Continued from page 4*

says money has been paid for the release of prisoners for as long as anyone can remember, although the Federal Republic, in view of the special nature of intra-German circumstances, does a fairly brisk trade.

What, he asks, about the Americans? This, of course, is a reference to the arms-for-hostages deal by which Iran was to use its influence to secure the release of American hostages in Lebanon.

*Ralph Boulton/rtr*

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 9 January 1987)

# New start ends a Karlsruhe dynasty

The new secretary-general of the North Atlantic Assembly, Peter Corterier, probably felt a little melancholy when he moved into the small neo-baroque palace in the Place du Petit Sablon in Brussels.

After all, this new start for 50 year-old Corterier also means the end (for the time being) of a dynasty of politicians in his native Karlsruhe.

Since 1953 the Corteriers have represented the Karlsruhe constituency as members of the SPD in Bonn; Fritz Corterier up until 1969, and his son Peter (with a short break between 1983-1984) ever since.

Setbacks and rebukes within his party, however, left Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's minister of state in the Bonn Foreign Office with no option but to beat an orderly retreat.

Peter Corterier was a successful direct candidate for his party in his constituency three times.

The former mayor of Bremen, Hans Koschnick (SPD), once called Corterier a "complete idiot".

Corterier's withdrawal from political life has been in stages.

Before the 1983 general election campaign the regional section of the SPD in Baden, which had undergone a clear swing to the left, punished Corterier for supporting the Nato twin-track decision by putting him on a *Land* list of candidates.

This meant that his position was not strong enough to ensure him of a seat in the Bonn Bundestag.

A year later he did manage to move to Bonn to fill in the gap left by Rainer Offergeld's departure. The next humiliation, however, soon followed.



**Peter Corterier... dispute over defence**

Although Corterier was nominated by the parliamentary party executive committee for the post of deputy chairman in the External Relations Committee the parliamentary party voted against the "right-of-centre" man from Karlsruhe and for Antje Huber.

Since then very little has been heard about the professional jurist who had moved up the political ladder by virtue of his diligence, straightforwardness and determination.

Corterier was head of the *Jungsozialisten*, the SPD's youth organisation, member of the Bundestag and the *European Parliament*, representative of the SPD on the External Relations Committee, member of the parliamentary party's executive committee and minister of state.

"I do not agree with important elements of the SPD's foreign and security policy," Corterier says today.

He was not willing to support the about-turn made by many party colleagues during the post-Schmidt era.

In his opinion the essential premises of a free and democratic policy for the Federal Republic of Germany are membership of Nato, nuclear deterrence and solidarity with the USA.

The Corterier family with its Huguenot background was already once forced to leave its home. He too is a much-travelled man, with excellent contacts in Washington.

His presidency of the Atlantic Association of Young Politicians (1965-1969) paved the way to the post he will now take up in Brussels.

Corterier, who will be moving to Belgium with his wife and daughter, is the first German to head the North Atlantic Assembly.

The organisation, which is not an official Nato body and which convenes once or twice a year, regards itself as a link between Nato and the parliaments of its member countries.

It compiles reports and forwards recommendations for the various parliaments.

Will Corterier ever return to Bonn as a politician? "A great deal depends on how the SPD develops," he replies.

*Hans Krump*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 6 January 1987)

■ THE ECONOMY

# Earlier tax cuts likely in effort to boost demand



Real growth this year should be 2.5 per cent, according to the 1987 economic report approved by the Bonn Cabinet. It was probably the last economic policy step before the election.

It certainly marked an end for the time being to successive growth forecasts for the year ahead, some differing widely but all agreed in expecting the economy to forge ahead into its fifth year of largely uninterrupted growth.

Yet the economic outlook as forecast by both economists and the Federal government in its annual report hardly creates the impression of being a powerhouse obviating any need for provision against contingencies.

The 2.5 per cent real economic growth described as both desirable and feasible in the 1987 economic report sounds more like a tender plant that will need constant care and observation in the months ahead.

A point that weighs more heavily than all the crystal ball-gazing about growth rates and percentage points is that all serious economic observers are agreed that the economic upswing sustained since 1982 is soundly based.

Voters will largely pass judgment on the government's economic policy performance at the polls.

Experts agree that the outgoing Bonn government has laid a much firmer foundation for lasting growth and full employment than the governments of most industrialised countries.

One of the most unsatisfactory figures forecast is unemployment at an ongoing high of 8.5 per cent, or a seasonally adjusted average of about 2,150,000 West Germans out of work.

This is a clear pointer to what the present economic cycle has been able to accomplish and where it has been powerless.

Unemployment, having been due to a succession of past economic and political misdevelopments, cannot simply be reduced by the economic cycle within a few years.

Encrustations in the labour market are still too pronounced and the number of newcomers swelling the ranks of the labour market is still too large for the number of people unemployed to fall rapidly below two million.

Even Opposition politicians in Bonn have long conceded, albeit off the record, that a reduction in the number of Germans out of work can hardly be brought about much faster.

Although that doesn't stop them from claiming it can in the general election campaign, though.

Inflation comes as a virtual afterthought in the 1987 economic report even though the Federal government is not expecting further dramatic drops in the dollar exchange rate and the price of oil.

Yet the outlook for 1987 remains immaculate in terms of stability. The government is not expecting prices to increase by more than one per cent, subject to wage trends.

Yet despite the firm foundations on which the economic upswing continues to be based in its fifth successive year it is hardly surprising to see, in the new year's economic report, that the government is considering support measures.

After four months of decline in new industrial orders and output the risks that beset the official economic forecasts are more readily apparent than they were, say, in mid-1986.

This year imports and exports are clearly the sector in which the risk of economic forecasts going haywire lies.

The latest revaluation of the deutschemark within the European Monetary System is arguably the least important risk factor German exports face.

A far more important issue is when the dollar's decline will grind to a halt, how the protectionism debate in the United States will develop and whether it might not end in trade policy escalation as a result of which there will be losers, and nothing but losers on both sides.

Last but not least, the other side of the coin of plummeting oil prices, the decline in demand from oil-producing countries, will exercise a growing influence on world trade, including trade with the East Bloc countries.

So much of the economic impetus will again have to be provided by domestic demand, on which the Federal government sounds an optimistic note.

Many of the expansionary trends set last year, it feels, will only start to affect demand this year.

For many domestic consumers lower oil prices will only now have an effect, with lower heating bills resulting in repayments, lower monthly instalments and more purchasing power released for spending in other sectors.

Additional support measures are not ruled out but will only be considered if the extra domestic demand fails to offset a marked decline in export demand.

The final version of the report, however, unlike the first draft, makes no mention of the economic policy toolkit placed at the government's disposal by the Stability and Growth Act.

Government officials stress the point that this amendment means there will continue to be no old-style economic booster programmes or packages.

Instead, Germans may soon after the general election benefit from the second stage of the tax relief package, worth DM9bn and originally planned for implementation in 1988/89, being brought forward to boost demand and give the economy an added fillip.

This presupposes that the economy takes a serious turn for the worse, which it is not expected to do.

If it does, however, the second stage of the tax cuts package might even be brought forward and backdated to January 1987.

*Gerhard Hennemann*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 January 1987)



# Record export surplus and zero inflation in 1986

The Federal Republic of Germany bought more goods in the United States last year than in 1985, says Egon Hölder, head of the Federal Statistics Office in Bonn, in answer to accusations from Washington that the Germans have been lacking in trade "solidarity" with America.

Imports from the United States declined in value by 18 per cent last year, but that was mainly due to a de facto 36-per-cent revaluation of the deutschemark against the dollar.

Hölder estimates the real increase in imports from America to have been between five and eight per cent.

He announced details of several statistical records set up in 1986. Last year's export surplus was DM110.2bn, or well over 50 per cent higher than the previous record, 1985's DM73.4bn.

Between January and October 1986 the Federal Republic also replaced the United States as the world's foremost exporter.

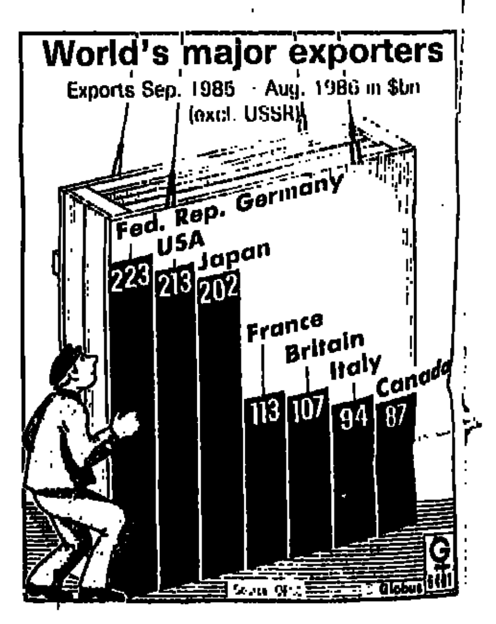
Last but not least, the cost of living index for the year as a whole declined by 0.2 per cent. The 1985 figure was 2.2 per cent up on 1984 and 1984's 2.4 per cent up on 1983.

The record foreign trade figures for 1986 are available in detail for January to November, with the December figures still estimates.

A striking feature is that both exports, at DM522.6bn, and imports, at DM412.4bn, were lower than in the previous record year, 1985.

The record export surplus was due to imports being down 11 per cent, as against a mere 2.7-per-cent decline in exports.

Hölder added that the decline in both imports and exports was strictly nominal, foreign trade being denominated in dollars. In real terms imports were up 5.7 and exports up 0.8 per cent.




Between January and October 1986 German exports were 11 per cent higher than those of the United States which in 1985 was still in first place. This was partly due to a 15-per-cent improvement in Germany's terms of trade.

"The export surplus," he said, "simply isn't the result of an inordinate and ruthless German export drive as may be imagined in one deficit country or another."

A decline in the annual cost of living index was last registered in 1953. But much of the decline was due to lower fuel prices. Had it not been for them prices would have increased by 1.5 per

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■ INDUSTRY

# Prussian porcelain, a legacy of Frederick the Great




Porcelain has been imported from the Far East since the Middle Ages. It was expensive and called white gold.

It was a symbol of wealth and artistic sense to German princes in the Baroque period, the 17th and 18th centuries.

Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony (1694-1733), was one of the greatest collectors of porcelain tableware and figures of his period.

Friedrich Böttcher, an apprentice apothecary from Berlin who wanted to be a goldsmith, was kept prisoner at the Elector's court.

In 1709 he found a way of making a white, translucent cement by firing kaolin with feldspate and quartz, so discovering European hard-paste porcelain.

A year later the Meissen porcelain factory was established, and to this day Meissen is synonymous with high-quality porcelain.

The Saxon monopoly was quickly broken. Other manufacturers sprang up, firstly in Vienna and Venice, then in Hoechst, near Frankfurt, Fürstenberg and Nymphenburg, near Munich.

The more sober and frugal Prussians did not go along with this distinctly roy- II, the Soldier King, had no taste for it.

With his Saxon neighbours he exchanged 48 giant Chinese porcelain vases, collected by his wife, Sophie Dorothea, for a complete regiment of cavalry.

This regiment, dubbed the Porcelain Dragoons, was, in fact, responsible for the victory over the Saxons at Kesseldorf in 1745, won by the Soldier King's son, Frederick the Great, in the Second Silesian War. As a result of this victory he got his hands on Meissen.

Frederick the Great was not as philistine as his father. He was delighted by the costly items of porcelain he saw at Meissen. In 1751 he commissioned a Berlin wool merchant, Wegely, to set up his own porcelain factory, but a few years later this factory was closed down because it made a loss.

Wegely was followed by Ernst Gotzkowsky, Polish by birth, who had a difficulty convincing the Prussians that the porcelain factory could be successful. He brought in workers from Meissen, but he also was unable to get the enterprise out of the red.

Having brought the Seven Years War to a victorious conclusion in 1763 Frederick the Great himself took a hand in the porcelain factory.

Despite the fact that Prussia was ruined because of the war Frederick earmarked 225,000 thalers for the Royal Porcelain Factory (in German known by the initials KPM).

The money was coined from silver tableware, to be replaced by porcelain. The King said: "We have nothing left except our honour, hat, walking stick and our porcelain."

Frederick the Great was fascinated by it. He regarded its manufacture as an industrial enterprise that would bring in profits.

He designed the blue sceptre trade mark and he interested himself in what would now be described as marketing. He did all he could to promote sales and was himself one of the factory's best customers.

Berlin quickly became one of the leading German centres of porcelain manufacture. The porcelain was also famous because it was what we would call now non-pollutant: there was little lead in the porcelain tableware produced.

After Frederick the Great's death in 1786 the factory passed into the hands of the Prussian state. In the following years famous artists made drawings for the porcelain designs, including Friedrich Schinkel whose artistic sketches for Schinkel baskets and dishes are still reproduced. The filigree work in these designs called for as many as 3,000 brush-strokes, all done by hand.

Porcelain sculpture includes the famous series of twelve figures representing the months of the year and the busts of Frederick the Great and Queen Luise, done from models by Gottfried Schadow.

The 64-plate dinner service produced for the Duke of Wellington was the most famous, and the most expensive, set of porcelain the Royal Porcelain Factory produced.

The romantic movement towards the end of the 19th century with its passion for all things to do with the Middle Ages was the kiss of death for porcelain.

An attempt to revive porcelain's attractions was only made when the *Jugendstil* became fashionable. New ideas and new designs were brought into the porcelain factory.

When the Prussian monarchy came to an end in 1918 the word "Royal" was dropped from its name, which was called thereafter the "State Porcelain Factory Berlin." The trademake "KPM," *the initials of the original name in German*, remained.



**Hand-painted Prussian porcelain . . . came with honour, hat and walking stick.** (Photo: BfH)

Much in the factory was destroyed during the Second World War, but many of the irreplaceable forms were saved.

Another advantage for the factory's future was that in the middle of the last century it was moved from the eastern part of Berlin to the Tiergarten district, which since 1945 has been a part of West Berlin.

Production was continued at the factory under the control of the Berlin Senate.

Past experience, technical improvements and the know-how of the factory's personnel have raised it to among the top German porcelain manufacturers, along with Meissen.

The factory employs about 400 staff, most highly-skilled specialists. As *always the porcelain range produced calls* for work by hand from producing the designs to painting the finished pieces of porcelain.

Turnover in 1985 was DM27.9m, an increase of 7.3 per cent over the previous year's result and the highest in the factory's history.

At first glance that would seem to be a satisfactory situation, but on closer examination problems arise.

Almost DM11,7m of the total turnover was achieved from technical and industrial porcelain. In the course of the year this increased by 20 per cent. This production includes expensive laboratory equipment and special articles used in dentistry.

Tableware and decorative porcelain, the factory's traditional items of production, only accounted for DM16.2m of turnover, a drop of 0.6 per cent compared with 1984. There were also considerable sales fluctuations in this sector.

Demand for white porcelain increased 3.3 per cent, but demand for decorated porcelain fell 10.5 per cent.

There were some revealing figures on the cost side of the business as well. Personnel accounted for 72 per cent of operating costs. Capital investment was over four million marks in 1985, but this was only a drop in the ocean for the out-dated buildings that house the factory.

The demand for high quality porcelain has meant that only 63.6 per cent of production is listed as top quality, while 25.9 per cent has to be sold at lower prices as second quality porcelain.

Breakages, totalling 10.5 per cent, also have to be included in the final accounts. Then write-offs of DM1.3m had to be made for articles for which there was little or no demand.

Taking all these factors together it is not surprising then that the factory showed a loss at the end of 1985 of DM5.3m.

Uwe Karsten, managing director of the factory since 1984, makes no secret of the fact that in the coming years it will be difficult, if not impossible, to balance the books.

He is the first commercial executive to manage the company. His predecessors have invariably been administrators.

A number of measures have been introduced including methods to improve productivity and an intensification of marketing not only in the home market but also abroad.

"KPM" porcelain can now be purchased at Harrod's in London and Tiffany's in New York.

The purely economic aspects to which Frederick the Great gave such emphasis can no longer be of prime importance.

In Berlin it is said that the factory produces what is in fact a part of the "cultural heritage."

From this point of view taxpayers should be reconciled to acceptable red figures, so long as they do not reach the astronomical heights that some theatres and opera houses have achieved.

*Heinz Hildebrandt*

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 2 January 1987)

Continued from page 6

cent, as against a 2.1-per-cent increase in 1985 over 1984. "But for the average household budget stable prices represent a gain in purchasing power regardless where it originates."

In December 1986 the cost of living was 0.2 per cent higher than in November and 1.1 per cent lower than in December 1985.

Average industrial wages were 3.4 per cent up in real terms, the largest increase since 1977.

*Thomas Linke*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 16 January 1987)

Continued from page 2

States holds the key to Canada's strategic security too. Ottawa has chosen not to conclude the intergovernmental agreement the Pentagon envisaged as lending international support to SDI; individual arrangements between companies are preferred.

Research is encouraged but Ottawa would like to see the 1973 ABM Treaty observed and is keen to see its provisions strictly interpreted.

The strategic implications are more important still. As in the Federal Republic, Canada now takes a third view of SDI, with 1970s anti-missile research and the replacement of strategy by vision in 1983 having yielded, since 1985, to reality increasingly demanding its tribute.

Protected deterrence is felt to be possible; more is not considered desirable, least of all a fast and furious race between US defence and Soviet attack systems.

Canadians have begun to recall that Arctic waters lie beyond the Far North and beyond them Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles are deployed on land and at sea. Additional air defence against bomber-backed cruise missiles is under consideration, whereas SDI is viewed with misgivings.

The twofold challenge Canada now faces is a combination not unknown to Europe. It involves problems a medium-sized power faces in dealings with a leading power.

Whatever solutions are eventually reached, Canada will always retain an interest in pursuing policies of its own in North America.

It will always be in Europe's interest — as it has been for the past 40 years — for Canada to maintain its commitment to its Atlantic mandate.

*Michael Stürmer*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 January 1987)

■ CONSUMER PROTECTION

# Pensioner proves millions of heating bills are wrong

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Central heating bills paid by 780,000 German householders have been based since 1982 on inaccurate data read from devices installed by a Hamburg firm, says a Munich pensioner.

Otmar Steigleder, 63, a retired weights and measures official, has fought and, so it seems, won a one-man battle against the Hamburg company.

In his initial anger at the succession of inaccurate heating bills he was sent by Kalorimeta, the fourth-largest firm of its kind in the Federal Republic, there were times, a year ago, when he would have liked nothing better than to see his Goliath toppled.

But the company is still in business and, in retrospect, he feels that is perhaps just as well. "You can't milk a dead cow," he says.

Kalorimeta, who are responsible for billing 780,000 centrally-heated homes all over the country, is better in business (and able to indemnify tenants whose heating bills have been too high) than on the rocks.

He has impressively demonstrated how to take the company to court and seems sure to be right that settling claims will cost the company millions.

He has proved that the process Kalorimeta uses all over the country to assess central heating charges to be paid by tenants in apartment blocks is inaccurate and unusable.

The device to which he took such a dislike looks rather like a thermometer and is slotted between the ribs of central heating radiators. The heat generated makes liquid in the tube evaporate and the level that remains can be read from a scale.

Steigleder claims, and his claim has yet to be disproved, that heating bills all over the country since 1982 based on readings from devices using the Kalorimeta evaporation principle have been inaccurate.

He has helped tenants in the 780,000 apartments all over Germany for which the Hamburg firm assesses the heating bills to register their compensation claims.

He feels it is for the company to install new devices at its own expense. Replacing an estimated nine million devices should, he says, cost over DM30m.

That is why he takes a dim view of a letter Kalorimeta is now circulating to tenants. While admitting that measurements have been inaccurate the firm is trying to persuade tenants to pay the cost of replacement.

"As the heating measurement devices in your property were installed over 10 years ago," the circular says, "they naturally no longer conform to the latest DIN standards.

"But from January 1987 we can supply you with entirely new devices that more than comply with the current regulations." Kalorimeta will be happy to replace them at the customer's expense, charging DM9.90 per unit, plus VAT at 14 per cent.

Kalorimeta's press spokesman, Klaus-Werner Frenzel, was not prepared to comment on the total cost of replacement but confirmed that his company plans to modernise the entire system.

"We are planning to convert and generally update our facilities," he says, "and will in the process be introducing a new, customer-friendly invoicing system."

But, he adds, it will, of course, be a few years before the new look has been fully implemented. The company is nonetheless determined to "get down to brass tacks" as a "confidence-building measure."

That is a point even Herr Steigleder must be prepared to hold in the firm's favour. "He must be fair for once and allow us a little time," Herr Frenzel says.

The Kalorimeta spokesman has no doubts as to who must foot the replacement bill. Customers must pay for the replacement of systems installed before 1981.

The company will foot the bill for equipment installed since 1981 — except where changes have been made to heating systems, such as fitting radiators with thermostat valves.

Herr Frenzel says customers would be well advised not to harbour hopes of substantial repayments. Herr Steigleder had complained of heating costs being wrongly allocated.

That meant Kalorimeta would not only make refunds for bills that were too high but also charge extra for bills that were too low.

When Otmar Steigleder heard about the circular Kalorimeta was mailing to customers he lost all patience with the company.

Determined to nip such "monkey business" in the bud he wrote letters requesting action and assistance from a number of quarters.

He called on the Central Association of Property-Owners in Düsseldorf and the Central Association of Cooperative Housing Corporations in Cologne to warn their members about the "dubious practices" of the Hamburg firm.

He wrote via the Bavarian SPD to the Social Democrats' business manager in the Bonn Bundestag, former Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn, who is president of the German Tenants' Association in Cologne.

He hopes Herr Jahn and his organisation will help him in his battle with Kalorimeta. The whole affair, he wrote in his letter to Herr Jahn, had reached a dimension that was beginning to overtax his financial and physical resources.

He reminded the Tenants Association that it had taken him nearly two years to prove conclusively that Kalorimeta heating meters didn't work properly, for which the company itself was solely to blame.

The firm's behaviour led him to suspect that Kalorimeta was trying "in a roundabout way to pocket the little man's money and quietly destroy the evidence."

It was now up to the Tenants Association and the Consumer Association to act and ensure that ordinary people were not left in the lurch. Herr Steigleder is determined to see the law amended to improve consumer protection.

He advises Kalorimeta [illegible]ly to permit the replacement of faulty meters in their homes free of charge and on the understanding that they are allowed to keep the old meters as evidence.

This, he says, is essential as otherwise people will stand very little chance of proving in a court action that Kalorimeta has overcharged them.

He is both experienced and successful at enforcing his claims against the company. Kalorimeta initially threatened to sue him for millions in damages for harming the firm's reputation. But threats were as far as the company went.

Kalorimeta now go to great lengths to ensure that the temperature of negotiations with their stalwart Munich adversary doesn't plummet too close to zero.

This may arguably be seen in connection with investigations since last summer by a Munich court into Kalorimeta's activities. The company is suspected


Otmar Steigleder and the faulty meter. (Photo: amw)

of forgery and fraud. Kalorimeta may also have adopted a more conciliatory approach to Herr Steigleder and his campaign because courts elsewhere are taking a closer look at the firm's conduct of business.

In Hamburg, for instance, a court recently ruled that heating bills for 7,200 apartments in the Mümmelmannsberg estate cannot be regarded as correct.

Tenants have since persistently refused to pay their bills and are clamouring for compensation. Herr Steigleder has successfully sued Kalorimeta for compensation on behalf of 3,000 tenants in the Munich suburban housing estate where he lives.

They have been awarded DM540,000, 12.5 per cent of the heating bills they challenged, to share as they see fit for 1983 to 1985. [illegible] because exact figures for each tenant were no longer available.

Court rulings of this kind naturally encourage others to follow suit. Herr Steigleder says 2,400 Nuremberg tenants have been repaid DM800,000 for the years 1982 to 1985.

In Hamburg 1,200 tenants in Gross Flottbek have instructed a lawyer to sue the firm. In Munich 2,400 Oberschleissheim tenants are said to have been offered a 10-per-cent repayment in respect of their heating bills for 1984 to 1986.

Kalorimeta are showing signs of increasing upset as more and more tenants sue them for damages. There must, they say, be an end to these suits, otherwise the firm will end up on the rocks.

Herr Steigleder would hate to see that happen. He is anxious to ensure that all tenants are awarded the repayments that are their due.

*Hannes Krill*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 January 1987)





■ RESEARCH

# 'Meteor' scientists are refused access to much of Red Sea

Work by scientists on board the *Meteor*, the Federal Republic of Germany's new research vessel, is beset by political difficulties. The UN law of the sea convention is the problem.

The ship set sail from Hamburg on 2 January for the eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the north-western Indian Ocean. The expedition will last several months.

The new *Meteor*, commissioned in April 1986, is available for use by all institutes in the Federal Republic that engage in maritime basic research.

About 120 scientists, technicians and students from 22 German research institutes and university departments will be associated with the latest mission, which is to take nearly nine months.

They include staff of research institutes as far inland as the Senckenberg Institute in Frankfurt and scientists from Darmstadt, Heidelberg and Munich.

Work is being coordinated by the Hamburg University department of hydrobiology and fisheries research.

In the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean scientists will probe physical and chemical processes, the biology of flora and fauna and both the seabed and what lies beneath it and the air masses over the sea.

Mission staff include physicists, chemists, zoologists, botanists, ecologists, zoophysiologists, geologists, oceanographers and surveyors.

They will carry out nothing but basic research of absolutely no commercial use and many foreign scientists are taking part, yet the mission is beset by serious political difficulties.

They are due to the 1982 UN law of the sea convention by which most coastal states now claim not just a 12-mile territorial but a 200-mile exclusive economic zone.

Research outside the 12-mile zone is unrestricted where the water is concerned but seabed research, including stocktaking of seabed flora and fauna, is subject to permission by the coastal state.

This provision severely restricts the research planned on the mission in progress, especially in the Red Sea.

In a sea that is of extraordinary interest both ecologically and for its fauna, only Sudan has imposed no restrictions whatever on the research work the *Meteor* is entitled to carry out.

Saudi Arabia in contrast has refused the *Meteor* (and all previous applicants) permission to engage in seabed research of any kind in its waters.

The Saudis have yet to draw up provisions for scientific work in their territorial waters and they are not prepared to make concessions of any kind. Research in Egyptian waters is ruled out because the Egyptian authorities have made research subject to unacceptable conditions, such as that all seabed probes must be handed over to them for analysis in Egypt even though Egypt lacks suitable scientific know-how and facilities. All scientific abstracts must also be submitted to the Egyptian authorities before publication for authorisation and, possibly, censorship. If there is to be free and unhindered maritime research, conditions of this kind must be uncompromisingly rejected.


Research vessel *Meteor:* sidelined? (Photo: dpa)

Despite repeated diplomatic approaches Ethiopia and North Yemen have failed to reach a decision on requests for research permission.

So at present the *Meteor* will have no opportunity of carrying out research in the north and along the entire eastern side of the Red Sea. It can only work in the centre and western sectors.

In the final analysis such restrictions rebound on the countries that refuse research permission. Lacking research facilities of their own, they know nothing about the zones over which they have exclusive economic control by the terms of the UN convention.

*Wolfgang Klausewitz*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 January 1987)

# UN convention prevents seabed commodities free-for-all

One [illegible] tonnes of copper, one billion tonnes of polymetallic nodules and an even larger quantity of mineral salts is only a fraction of the riches in the seven seas.

In authorising the latest maritime research and marine technology support programme the Bonn government has given the go-ahead for the balanced exploitation of the commodity and foodstuff resources of the world's oceans.

German firms are to play a major, pioneering role. But euphoria would be ill-advised as the Federal Republic of Germany has yet to ratify the UN law of the sea convention.

Since the *Limits to Growth* report by Dennis C. Meadows and his associates the seven seas have assumed immense importance, especially for the industrialised countries.

Davy Jones' locker has been discovered as a gigantic reserve of commodity deposits and virtually inexhaustible source of energy.

There have been alarming reports of the growing world population steadily depleting reserves of lead, zinc, tin, copper, cobalt and uranium, all of which could be exhausted by the turn of the century.

Over the past 20 years there has been a tremendous increase in research into the world's oceans and their seabed resources.

North Sea oil and gas are but one example of the resources accessible. Political and law of the sea disputes over the establishment of the 200-mile exclusive economic zone and provisions regarding its use are the other side of the coin.

Many major seabed metal reserves are in the exclusive economic zones of developing countries that are increasingly enforcing their claims against industrialised states.

The UN law of the sea conference was held to limit these clashes and to prevent the ruthless exploitation of resources.

The preamble to the law of the sea convention drawn up and submitted by the third UN law of the sea conference on 30 April 1982 states that the establishment of a new legal order for the seas and oceans is aimed, with due consideration for the sovereign rights of individual states, at ensuring peaceful, equitable, ecologically compatible and effective utilisation of marine resources.

Protection of biological commodity reserves and the marine environment, including international ocean research, is seen as an overriding task to be performed by ocean management.

The convention is to make a contribution toward the "implementation of a just and impartial economic order serving the interests and requirements of mankind as a whole."

By far the largest part of the convention deals with deep-sea mineral resources and ways in which they are to be explored and extracted and the profits to be shared, this being a point on which the developing countries are keen to ensure they gain a fair share.

What commodities are there on or beneath the seabed, how do they come about and what problems arise in connection with seabed mining at depths of up to 7,000 metres (23,000ft)?

An example can be cited from the Red Sea, in a sector known as Atlantis II and regarded as a marine geological sensation.

In this sector hot ore sludge is pumped to the surface from a depth of 2,000 metres. The 60° C sludge comes from seabed fissures containing what is initially estimated to amount to 2.5 million tonnes of zinc, over one million tonnes of silver and even larger deposits of iron ore.

The value of these commodities, which can be pumped fairly easily in sludge form, is estimated at roughly $2.5bn, and the deeper sediment strata have yet to be probed!

Similar deposits of hot ore sludge are known to exist in the mid-Atlantic and eastern Pacific ridge systems. Hydrothermal precipitation is the name by which the way in which they originate is known.

They are all located near the edges of tectonic slabs. Where these gigantic slabs are drifting apart there is a constant flow of molten magma from the bowels of the Earth.

In the course of these powerful tectonic movements volcanic ridges take shape on the ocean bed, and the Red Sea is one of the youngest zones of this kind of activity.

In the Red Sea the Eurasian and African landmasses are drifting apart, creating a gigantic seabed fissure zone in which the water is heated by volcanic activity and molten magma and is mineral-enriched.

As soon as this water comes into contact with colder seawater the metals released from the volcanic rims, such as iron, manganese, copper, lead, silver and gold, are precipitated and mix with seabed sediment.

What makes the Atlantis II divide so sensational is that these processes can be observed and examined in what amounts to a gigantic research laboratory.

Atlantis II also makes one of man's dreams come true with its non-stop supply of new commodities constantly surfacing from the bowels of the Earth and settling on the seabed.

Metallurgical analysis and mining trials have shown that mining Atlantis II deposits is not merely possible; it will be a most attractive economic proposition.

Hydrothermal ore sludge deposits are by no means the only mineral resources the seven seas have at the ready. Others, in order of depth and distance from the coast, are:

Iron, sand and aggregate for use in construction work — all to be found in shallow coastal waters.

Heavy metal sands, also known as stream ore, are found in many coastal and continental shelf areas at depths of up to 200 metres.

They are deposits from river water that has borne heavy metal eroded from inland deposits downstream and out to sea.

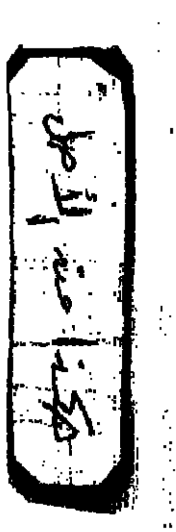
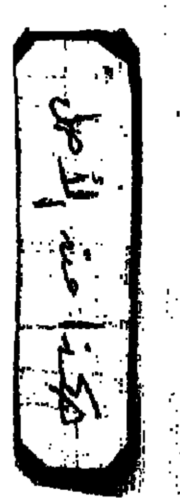
Great importance is attached to deposits of diamonds, thorium and tin and, particularly, of zirconium, ilmenite and rutil.

Zirconium is an important element used in reactor construction and as form sand for foundry casting. Ilmenite and rutil are so-called titanic metals, extremely heat-resistant and tough and indispensable in aerospace technology.

Phosphorite nodules are another interesting commodity. They are hard, grey-black nodules up to 15cm (six inches) in diameter and found at depths of up to about 500 metres.

They contain over 20 per cent phosphorus and are the result of precipitation by mineral-enriched deep-sea water. Crusts rich in cobalt are found on

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■ CINEMA

# Marlene Dietrich, leavening of rye bread in the glamour

**Marlene Dietrich has turned 85. She lives in a Paris apartment behind drawn blinds. Her only link with the outside world is the telephone. Werner Baecker, writing in *Die Welt*, looks back on a remarkable career.**

British satirist Noel Coward called her "the beautiful Helena," comparing her to the figure from Greek mythology. Ernest Hemingway affectionately called her "Kraut," which would normally be regarded as a pejorative.

For millions all over the world Marlene Dietrich has been for decades a supreme Hollywood star.

That is what her mentor, Josef von Sternberg, wanted. She owed her international fame to him. She herself said that she did everything that von Sternberg wanted her to do. He was her father, brother and confessor. He was everything.

She has frequently said that "as an actress also I only did my duty." She was doing just that when she sat on a barrel in a low dive and sang: "Falling in love again, never wanted to . . ."

Sternberg wanted her to do this. He had engaged her to play in *Blue Angel*, the film version of Heinrich Mann's novel about impossible love, *Professor Unrat*, in which Emil Jannings played the part of the hopelessly in love school master.

Dietrich, who in the early 1930s showed the Americans what Europeans meant by a "femme fatale," was an abstract figure, which is what she herself wanted to be. But this had nothing to do with the real Marlene Dietrich.

The truth is that she was a woman from Berlin who cooked chicken soup for her friends and who in the German quarter of New York kept a look out for Westphalian ham and rye bread.

She is to be admired in that in her later years she was still able to keep up her second personality with its facade of glamour.

In 1977 she appeared before the cameras in a best-forgotten film, *Gigolo*, with David Bowie. She must certainly have realised then that her film career was finally at an end, a career that certainly did not begin with *Blue Angel*.

Reluctantly she admitted in a taped interview with Maximilian Schell (for his documentary on Dietrich) that she had appeared in several films before *Blue Angel*, that had marvellous titles such as *Wenn ein Weib den Weg verliert*, or *Gefahren der Brautzeit*, a film in which she was partnered by Willi Forst.

And only a few people know that Marlene Dietrich played a very minor role in the only Garbo film that was shot in Germany, *Freudlose Gasse* by G.W. Pabst.

For ages she was been able to keep secret her date of birth. Then the authorities in East Berlin, of all people, put an end to all the guessing.

A certified copy of her birth certificate showed that she was born on 27 December 1901, daughter of a police officer, Lieutenant Louis Otto Dietrich and Wilhelmine Elisabeth Josephine, née Felsing. She was born in Sedanstrasse 53 in the Schöneberg district of Berlin.

She was very Prussian. Everything the world has admired about her for years was the result of iron self-discipline. This came from the way she was brought up which put doing one's duty in first place. Dietrich herself never protested about this description of her.

She had no time for rubbishy sentiment about home, and she did not waste any tears when she returned to a destroyed Berlin after the last war to visit her mother.

Many Germans were not at all pleased that she wore an American uniform at the time. But they had forgotten that she had become an American citizen years before. Because she despised Hitler and the Nazi regime she made no secret of this. Should that be resented?

No-one who has listened to the recordings of her singing old Berlin songs, particularly a dialect song about (her) legs which she made her own and which all Berlin applauded, can seriously doubt that she ever lost her love for the city where she was born.

In Maximilian Schell's documentary *Marlene* she quoted the words of this Berlin song with tears in her voice, a unique revelation of her true feelings.

In other sections of the film the impression was given that Marlene Dietrich was trying hard to demolish the legend that has surrounded her. She frequently said: "I can't listen to such rubbish any longer."

Composer and arranger Burt Bacharach was responsible for her second career as a chanson singer.

She appeared on stage, the lighting gentle. As she moved across stages all over the world and sang her songs she seemed unapproachable but dazzlingly beautiful.

Bacharach arranged for me to meet her in her New York apartment at the beginning of the 1960s. I saw confirmation then of all that her friends had said about her: that she was a motherly woman with a great sense of humour, who loved to make tea and leaf through pictures of her grandchildren rather than talk about her career.

She brought to mind the text of an old hit song by Friedrich Hallaender, which Dietrich sang. Translated it said: "I don't know to whom I belong, I only belong to myself alone."

One of the features of her 85th birthday is that she is still able to knock the bottom out of every view taken of her.

She was only once married, to Rudolf Sieber, a director from the Berlin of the 1920s. She remained his good friend until his death.

Did she have affairs? Letters to her have been deposited in a bank safe. She maintains that these have nothing to do with sex.

She told Maximilan Schell: "I was not erotic, I only gave that impression." But that impression has guaranteed her a

Marlene Dietrich (Photo: Interpress)

place among the greats of cinema for all time.

For many years now she has lived behind closed blinds in Paris in the elegant Avenue Montaigne. Her only link to the outside world is the telephone. She does not receive people.

She has spared us the picture of her as the old lady in an armchair. For years now her beauty has been a thing of the past.

For most of us, who lived through all the phases of her career, this was a farewell to our own youth, an adieu to a dream.

*Werner Baecker*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 December 1986)

# Pola Negri, star of silent screen

Barbara Apolonia Chalupiec, who later took the exotic name of Pola Negri, was born 90 years ago at Lipno, near Warsaw.

During the First World War when she was an unknown actress employed by the state theatre in Warsaw, she was spotted by Max Reinhardt and taken to Berlin. Reinhardt was with a German theatre company in occupied Warsaw — for propaganda purposes, of course.

He saw something in the dancer with staggering good looks. She hardly spoke a word of German, but she did not need to.

Reinhardt put her into a pantomime called *Sumurun*, a fairytale à la One Thousand and One Nights, the absurd story of an old, jealous sheikh, who knew that his beloved wife Sumurun was cuckolding him with his son. Ernst Lubitsch was then a minor actor with Reinhardt. He played the son.

He had also made some good films, mainly short slapstick productions.

Just at this time the German film company UFA was set up. The director general was Paul Davidson, also Polish. He lived in Paris, where he had seen Lubitsch's films. With a sure instinct for talent he offered Lubitsch a contract to make serious films.

Lubitsch was not sure he could do it. But he could. He brought in Negri as his star actress. He believed that she was not only beautiful but talented. And he was madly in love with her.

Along with other Reinhardt players such as the dapper lover Harry Liedtke and the character actor Emil Jannings he made several horror films such as *Vendetta*, and *Die Augen der Munie Ma*. Brandenburg near Berlin was used as a film location for scenes set in the Sahara Desert.

Another film, entitled *Carmen*, was also shot at this time, again with the same actors. All were very successful for Pola Negri.

Davidson then wanted Lubitsch to make "the greatest film of all time." He

Pola Negri (Photo: dpa)

was not in the least put out that Germany had just lost the war.

The greatest film of all time was indeed shot in the first weeks after the war's end while the whole of Germany was freezing and starving.

It was entitled *Madame Dubarry*, a fictitious story about the last king of France who was dethroned in the French Revolution. Dubarry was his mistress and she had to die as well.

Even the length of the film was extraordinary. It lasted two and a half hours at a time when films were at the most an hour long.

Lubitsch was regarded as mad when he demanded 250 extras for his film.

Negri played the title role, of course. She was captivating and in her dramatic scenes totally credible. She almost exploded with passion.

Her partners were again Liedtke and over the world, despite the fact that the Germans were not particularly loved because of the war.

For this reason Lubitsch was described in Paris as coming from Vienna, in New York from Paris, in London as being Swiss.

Negri was fêted everywhere as being a Polish star. No-one spoke of the fact that she lived in Berlin.

She had now become an international star. After a few more films with Lubitsch she went to Hollywood.

The reason is not what she has given out: that Hollywood could not do without her. Paramount wanted to get out of the ever-increasing demands made by the studios' superstar Gloria Swanson. Negri would offer competition.

But she did not get on very well in Hollywood. The only success she had was in *Forbidden Paradise*, made with Lubitsch, about the love-striken Czarina Catharine the Great.

When talkies arrived she could no longer get work — her English was awful and she had never learned the art of playing down the dramatic gestures in her acting.

So she accepted an invitation from Will Forst and returned to Germany. She played in *Mazurka*, a tear-jerker but with considerable success.

Her other German films were unsuccessful. There was prejudice against her in the USA, where she had considerable difficulties because she had returned to Hitler's Germany.

She never made a comeback although it was rumoured that Billy Wilder had had her in mind for the role of the ageing film star in *Sunset Boulevard*. But ironically he eventually decided on Gloria Swanson.

No-one was interested in Negri any

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■ EDUCATION

# School exchange scheme links Kiel and Kenya

Frankfurter Allgemeine

School pupils from Kiel have been involved in regular exchange visits with Kenyan pupils since 1980 under a state-subsidised private scheme.

The programme is a private initiative between the *Gymnasium* in the small town of Altenholz (pop: barely 10,000) and the Kenya High School, in Nairobi.

In six years, it has widened to include other schools in Kiel and Hamburg and another high school in Nairobi.

Twenty-six school boys and girls peppered the West German ambassador in Nairobi, Dr Jürgen Diesel, with questions. They wanted to know how did a person become an ambassador? Do European ambassadors work together? How long does a diplomat remain in Nairobi before he is replaced? Is the embassy large?

They also wanted to know: Do we help Kenya? How much is spent on development aid? What do we buy from Kenya?

A girl wanted to know if the ambassador's wife had to do things for the embassy and whether the ambassador's family were involved in a diplomat's life?

Ambassador Diesel said that the Foreign Ministry got two people for the price of one. A diplomat's wife had to be involved in her husband's work. She could not simply be hostess at dinners and receptions.

She had to be able to take part in important political discussions and give her time to social welfare and women's activities.

The United States, East Germany, Switzerland and a few other countries paid diplomats' wives. Not Bonn. It takes it for granted that a wife will assist her husband.

Diplomats' wives have a difficult time. They have to run the household in a foreign country, bring up the children and deal with the problems of schooling.

Gerd Eisenack was a medic in the West German navy's sea rescue service. He used to run the Altenholz youth club in his free time. In 1963 he was with the navy in Dar es Salaam, in Tanzania, and in 1964 his ship called at Mombasa. In 1980 he visited Kenya again as a tourist to find out if it would be possible to organise exchange visits between pupils from the Altenholz *Gymnasium* and Kenyan high schools.

Coincidentally in 1980 the Bonn government had sent the first German teacher to a Kenyan school. Eisenack met the teacher, Dullin, and they took it upon themselves to draw up an exchange programme.

In the summer holidays the first group of Kenyan pupils travelled to Altenholz. During the Christmas holidays the first group from Altenholz visited Nairobi.

The Kenyans stay with German families and attend the local German school for a week before the holidays.

The host parents provide bed and board and give their visitors pocket money just like for their own children.

Parents who put up a Kenyan pupil for four, five or six weeks have priority for sending their sons or daughters to Nairobi at Christmas and New Year when it is cold and foggy in Schleswig-Holstein and the rainy season has finished in Nairobi and summer has begun.

The German pupils, when it is their turn, live with Kenyan families — but not all in Nairobi.

Kenya High School is a boarding school and pupils' families are scattered all over Kenya.

There is no language problem. The German pupils learn English at school and some of the Kenyans attend German lessons. It is fun, anyway, to tackle the ordinary things of life in a foreign language.

When the German pupils get back to school in January they can show off the rudiments of Ki-Swahili, Kikuyu, Duolo or one of the more than 50 languages in Kenya, they might have picked up.

Gerd Eisenack travels with the schoolboys and girls to Kenya and stays with the Dullin family in Nairobi. He organises trips, meetings and discussions, which includes a visit to Ambassador Diesel.

For the visit to the embassy the boys have their hair cut and wear ties. The girls wear dresses: none turn up in trousers.

The ambassador asked the Kenyan girls, who were also there, what they had done in Germany in the summer?

One girl said: "It was great fun. In our family my father is the boss. Everyone does what he says. We serve him. He is the king. In Germany I saw my fathur (and she meant the father of the family where she was staying) use the vacuum-cleaner and he did the washing up. Everyone helped in the home."

The ambassador ventured the opinion that it was probably not like that in every German home.

The visitors to Kenya, between the ages of 15 and 18, were eager for information about Kenya. In a question and answer session they wanted to know how much was allocated from the budget for the Kenyan army? Who decided how much cash should be provided from Bonn for development aid? Whether a development aid project had been broken off; and what Kenya had to say about South Africa and apartheid.

One took the view that the industrialised states exploited the developing countries and development aid was a refined method of exploitation. The others disputed this.

One evening a week for six weeks they had listened to lectures about East Africa and Kenya.

The private exchange initiative has been going on now for six years. Teacher Dullin in Kenya gives up his free time for the scheme. Eisenack, who has been in retirement for two years now, looks after the organisation in Altenholz.

Since the exchange programme began these two alone have arranged matters. No-one else has had to be brought in.

Being Germany, everything must be in order so Eisenack has established an association in Altenholz for the youth exchange visits, that selects German participants.

It has been possible to purchase articles of real value with contributions and donations from business people. This year the German visitors took with them to Kenya pliers and hammers, shears and axes and other tools valued at a thousand marks.

The pupils from Altenholz and Kiel took some of the delicacies from the North with them: Kiel sprats and soused herrings, sauerkohl, sausages and labskaus, a North German speciality of beef hash with egg, herring and beetroot.

The delicacies were brought out at a special dinner when the German visitors had arrived in Kenya — and some Kenyan housewives were certainly given a shock with what they saw. Some asked: "Do Germans eat that?"

The German parents paid for the flight to Kenya, DM1,600 per ticket with Kenya Airways.

The arrangement in reverse is slightly different because many Kenyan families cannot afford to pay.

More than half the pupils at the Kenya High School don't pay because their families cannot afford it. The Starhehe Boys School, which sent two boys for the first time this year, is primarily a school for orphans.

Kenyan pupils who cannot raise the money to come to Germany can get a grant. Schleswig-Holstein's Prime Minister, Uwe Barschel, is the patron of Eisenack's association. This state provides DM8,000 annually for the costs of bringing young Kenyans to Germany, and the Bonn Foreign Ministry provides a similar sum in Nairobi.

Fears that, if a precedent was created by providing grants the scheme would get more and more expensive, have not been realised.

There are now three German-language teachers from the Federal Republic in schools in Nairobi. German is not an obligatory language for Kenyan schoolboys and girls. It is still an exotic language, but it is gaining in importance in trade and industry. It is an important language for tourism.

The education authorities in Kenya are aware of this and they have asked for seven more German-language teachers from Germany.

When the new school year begins this month they will take up posts within the country, according to a spokesman for the Federal Republic embassy in Nairobi.

The first course in training Kenyans to teach German has begun at Nairobi's Kenyatta University, but it will take a few years before graduates are ready to teach German.

*Günter Krabbe*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 January 1987)

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longer, only a very, very rich lady from Texas, owner of an oil company. It was rumoured that she was worth hundreds of millions of dollars and was lesbian.

She fell in love with Negri and invited her to stay with her.

Although even by Hollywood standards she lived in extraordinary luxury she was not happy.

But the Texas lady did not live very long and Negri was the sole heiress, or at least she inherited between 50 and 100 million dollars, so it was estimated.

She now lives in one of the many palatial homes she has in various parts of Texas, usually so that she does not have to meet and talk to people.

She was for a few years a star and is now a footnote in international film history.

*Curt Riess*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 3 January 1987)

# German staff teach Turkish returnees

Kieler Nachrichten

Seven German teachers have been seconded to the German-language Anadolu Lisesi *Gymnasium* in Ankara to teach the children of former guest workers who have returned to Turkey from West Germany.

In 1984 about 40,000 Turkish children returned to Turkey with their parents. And since there have been many more.

Because of the difficulties the returning pupils face, the Turkish government has set up the Anadolu Lisesi schools in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir so they can be taught in German.

Many of the children were born in Germany. Many are caught between a cultural divide, between the world they know in Germany and the world of their parents. Many speak German as a first language.

The Anadolu Lisesi schools get around the problem of having to downgrade the children, as would happen in a Turkish school.

But even winning a place at one of these German-language elite schools does not eliminate pupils' problems with assimilation into the Turkish education system.

Most of the returning children are from families regarded by the locals as rich. Turkish teachers don't look upon them very sympathetically because of their lack of knowledge about Turkish history and the life and works of the Turkish leader, Atatürk.

Turkish teachers of German are also worried about the respect they except from pupils because some of these boys and girls returning from Germany know the language better than they do.

In May 1986 the two governments drew up a rider to the German-Turkish cultural agreement to help youngsters returning from Germany to Turkey to integrate into the Turkish school system. The agreement proposes that eventually there should by 80 German teachers in state schools in Turkey.

The teachers are employed by the Turkish Education Ministry and are offered a year's contract with a Turkish teacher's salary of about DM270 a month.

The German teachers are given additional financial aid by the Bonn government of between DM3,100 and DM3,500.

In November last year the first seven teachers in this programme were given a five-week briefing course at the foundation for international development aid in Bad Honnef. The curriculum included Turkish, Turkish affairs and German as a foreign language.

The first course was devised to extend the participants' knowledge of the country. All of them knew the country, some through long stays in Turkey, and they could make themselves understood in Turkish.

These teachers can be certain that when they take up their posts in Ankara their presence in the school system will be welcomed on all sides.

*Karl Outerbein*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 6 January 1987)

■ ENVIRONMENT

# Tree death tests in topless transparent foil wraps

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Trees are being tested in controlled climatic conditions in their natural habitat to find out what is killing the forests of Europe.

Open-topped containers of transparent Teflon sheeting are built around trees and the ventilation is controlled.

Trees are dying all over the country at a staggering rate. The latest report says that 54 per cent of forest land between the Alps and the North Sea is seriously damaged.

No one really knows why. Man-made pollution is generally regarded by scientists as a main culprit in what is a complex process.

Nitric oxides and sulphur dioxides get a lot of the blame. Nitric oxide comes out of power station chimneys and vehicle exhausts. So does sulphur dioxide, the main ingredient of acid rain.

It is thought that they act in concert with the ozone which exists naturally in the atmosphere. But there is no hard evidence to back this theory.

Neither is there enough evidence to say that a substance applied to a tree under laboratory conditions has the same effect as the same substance on the same tree in a natural environment.

So scientists have devised this experiment to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Diseased and healthy trees are kept under close observation in these chambers — in controlled climatic conditions but otherwise in their natural environment.

Trees appear to be wrapped in transparent foil where they stand. The technique doesn't look complicated, but the 85-per-cent transparent Teflon foil forms part of a complex and sophisticated approach.

Ventilation can be adjusted to any mixture of air, filtered air and toxins.

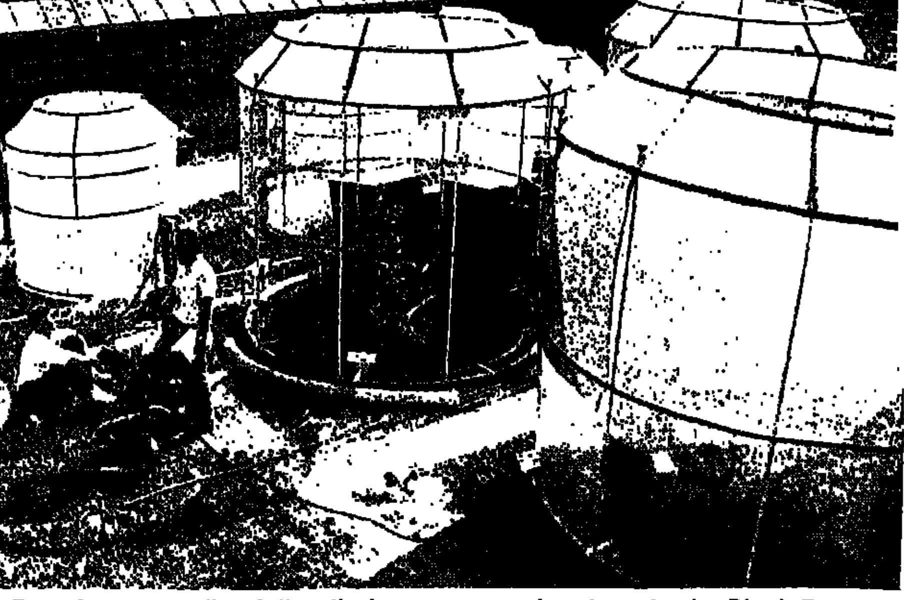
Complicated measuring techniques monitor air temperature, precipitation, fog, light and sunshine at various heights inside the chamber.

The container has no roof so when it rains, the trees will get wet. Climate factors such as temperature and sunshine are also far truer to nature than in laboratory conditions.

The "open-top" technique is based on the climate chambers used for over a decade in crop research.

The chief problems in converting the agricultural research technique for use in forestry research have been the size of chambers and the need for year-round operation.

The open-top chambers were devised at Freiburg forestry research establishment in the Black Forest and Hohenheim University, Stuttgart.



Experimental Teflon foil pollution test tree chambers in the Black Forest

(Photo: dpa)

They are about seven metres (23ft) tall and cover a surface area of 20 square metres (360 square ft), so they can house fully-grown conifers.

They can be used for experiments over a 10- to 15-year period, as planned in Freiburg, and for observation of trees up to 20 years old in their natural habitat, as at Hohenheim.

The first open-tops are in use near Münstertal in the southern Black Forest and in the Welzheim woods, near Stuttgart.

The result of a preliminary survey by the Hohenheim University department of plant ecology has already been published.

Young fir trees — spruces — were "gassed" with sulphur dioxide and ozone for two years in rainproof transparent foil chambers four metres (13ft) tall.

As expected, the effect of sulphuric gas on the mineral make-up of the young trees was devastating.

Magnesium and calcium deficiency in their needles led to the yellowish-brown discolouring that experts somewhat blandly refer to as "gold-tipped."

Painstaking chemical analysis of all sectors of the chamber from the treetop to the roots confirmed field observation that trees are very hard-hit by exposure to $SO_2$.

The effect of ozone, which is normally generated in the upper atmosphere but finds its way down to ground level was less readily apparent

Artificial ozone "ventilation" alone was not found to have any demonstrable effect, but the noxious effect of sulphur dioxide was considerably heightened by an admixture of ozone.

That is a telling point against nitric oxides, which were not tested in the experiments, because they are catalysts that encourage the natural creation of ozone.

Oboe, short for open-top experimental chamber (in German), is the abbreviation for long-term experiments with fully-grown trees planned in the years ahead to find out what is making trees die.

The Oboe projects are two out of nearly 100 research projects subsidised as part of the European atmospheric pollution research programme (PEF).

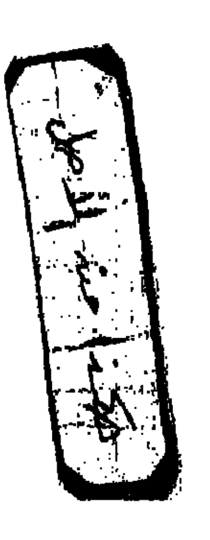
The programme was launched three years ago by the Baden-Württemberg *Land* government. Run from the Karlsruhe nuclear research establishment, it has a DM36m budget.

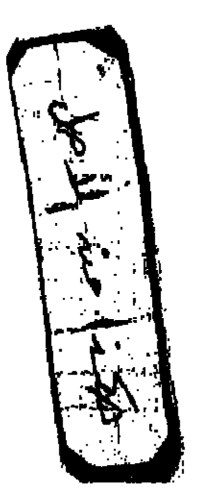
The European Community is contributing a mere DM2m toward the cost of the programme, but this modest start is at least an indication of the European dimension of tree deaths.

*Bernd Schuh*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 January 1987)







# 100-year-old beech is worth half a million marks

What is a tree worth? The value of its timber, lumberjacks and forest-owners would say. That can range from DM150 for a spruce to over DM30,000 for an oak tree.

A 100-year-old beech tree 25 metres (82ft) tall earns its owner a mere DM270, the equivalent of two to three cubic metres of timber.

Biologists and futurologists go by the economic cost of the work the tree does, such as generating oxygen.

A tree generates 4.6 tonnes of oxygen a year. It also exchanges 6.3 tonnes of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere.

If this were to be done artificially the energy input required would be 19 megawatt-hours. That, plus the tree's work as a water pump and water storage unit, is worth DM315.63 a year.

A beech tree's roots and capillaries extract 30,000 litres of water from the soil.

Its waste, consisting of 55 tonnes of dead leaves and wood, not to mention beechnuts, is used by millions of organisms.

It is converted into humus by 2,500 worms, for instance. So the tree's value as a biotope is estimated at DN1,552.63.

The tree's work in extracting dust and toxins from the air we breathe is worth DM1,607.84. It is worth a further DM1,675.64 as a sunshade, umbrella and children's playground.

As a part of the natural habitat of wild animals, as a climate regulator and prerequisite of nature's biological balance it is worth DM475.25.

On this basis the beech tree is worth over DM5,000 a year. So the work done by a 100-year-old beech tree can be costed at over DM500,000.

*Wolfgang Thielke*

(Welt am Sonntag, Hamburg, 4 January 1987)

■ SOCIAL HISTORY

# Seven centuries of spectacles on show in Hamburg




An exhibition on spectacles at the Hamburg Museum of Arts and Crafts is claimed to be the first of its kind.

Wearers of spectacles were once regarded with derision, despite the help they gave.

Pince-nez astride the bridge of the nose tended to make the wearer talk with a nasal twang. Rims dug into the cheeks.

Frames made of metal, horn or fishbone tended to rub and hurt, so they were often covered in fabric. Other varieties, popular until well into the 18th century, had lighter leather rims that stayed in position.

Leather-framed spectacles, wrote Daza de Vades in Spain in 1623, stayed firmly in place, glued by body heat to the bridge of the nose.

Spectacles and their wearers were not taken seriously until the beginning of this century. They are still inconvenient yet indispensable, useful but a nuisance.

Many wearers push them back into place or readjust their position up to 250 times a day.

In the process they tend to pull faces, involuntarily screwing up faces, furrowing brows, turning up noses and tossing back heads.

The Hamburg exhibition features 400 models, posters, photos, film footage and a multivision show; it presents a cultural history of everyday aesthetics.

Despite 700 years of progress toward perfect precision in optical glass manufacture and lens-grinding, views still differ on which frames are best.

The museum's Nils Jockel says glasses come closest to the human sense of vision. They are a suitable example by which to demonstrate how important and how difficult it is to arrive at the right design technically and aesthetically for items in human use.

In 1985 a book entitled *Vom Elend des Brillengestells* (The Misery of the Spectacle Frame) was published in Vienna. It was the first and so far only study of glasses from the viewpoint of art history.

The Hamburg exhibition is the first of its kind ever held at a museum. Yet there has been no lack of speculation about the origins and uses of glasses in history.

Jockel looks, in the amusing catalogue, into design history. In a nutshell he says that the lens has come ever closer to the eye over the past 700 years.

The tale arguably began with magnifying glasses that were laid on the written page. Only for the past 40 years have contact lenses been available as an alternative to glasses or monocles.

Centuries ago a mediaeval clergyman with tears in his eyes lost his wooden-framed pince-nez in the choir stalls of a north German monastery.

He had presumably tired of trying to balance the frames on his nose. At times he could hold the glasses in position but when he needed a free hand to read or write he had to pince the frames firmly into position.

The missing mediaeval pince-nez was found in 1953 beneath the floorboards of the choir stalls at Wienhausen.

It was a surprising find. Wooden-framed pince-nez were known neither from illustrations nor from references in writing.

The first glasses worn in pairs certainly date back to the Middle Ages. They are first referred to — in the plural — in Flanders.

In about 1580 pince-nez had a thread or chain attached that could be draped round the ear. Spanish and Italian missionaries took this variety to China with them in the late 16th century.

It proved extremely suitable for and popular with people in the Far East. This design is said in the catalogue to have survived there until the 20th century.

The history of glasses is rich in vagaries and vain attempts to keep them firmly and comfortably in position. In the 16th century glasses were fixed to hats or caps, but not to hair or wigs, which was how the lorgnette came into fashion.

Writing in 1749 Marc Thomin, a French optician, rang the lorgnette's praises: "We tend to think that ordinary glasses make people look old and cast the wearer in a somewhat ridiculous light, whereas lorgnettes can be worn gracefully."

"Four-eyes" have certainly come in for more than their fair share of ridicule over the centuries. In the representational and performing arts glasses long stood for clumsiness, scholarship, old age and — when worn by the Devil — evil.



Mediaeval clergyman with pince-nez painted by Konrad of Soest, 1404

(Photo: Catalogue)

They could also create confidence and convey an impression of seriousness and reliability. Advertising posters tend to stress this consumer bonus.

Glasses can be a mask. They can also be a window revealing both eyes and personality.

The exhibition emphasises this point with art photographs from the museum's collection, which will shortly be opened for public access.

This century reluctance to wear glasses has been largely dispelled. They have come into their own as a fashion accessory, a stylistic means of underscoring the wearer's personality.

They are no longer needed to imply that the wearer must be intelligent.

This erstwhile handicap has been splendidly surmounted.

A showcase features curiosities from the history of glasses.

They include a pair with wipers for use in the rain, Eskimo glasses made of whalebone and snowglasses clad in artificial fur.

The owner of a leading Hamburg opticians, Ruhnke, was killed in an accident last September during preparations for the exhibition.

Ruhnke lent the organisers every assistance and the exhibition is dedicated to his memory.

*Ursula Bunte*

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 4 January 1987)

# Mind the gap — false teeth seen through the ages in Cologne

Bremer Nachrichten

Beautiful teeth are not always a gift of nature; they are often an expensive work of art, as an exhibition at the Cologne dental history museum shows.

The museum is a permanent exhibition at the Cologne head office of the Federal Dental Council.

False teeth date back to the pre-Roman era, but until well into the 19th century dentures were worn only by the rich and powerful.

Etruscan goldsmiths were among the first dental mechanics, bridging gaps left by missing teeth with gold bands attached to those that remained.

The Etruscans collected teeth from men killed in battle. When none were available for use in dentures they fashioned false teeth from hippo fangs.

An expert at the Cologne museum says slaves also had teeth pulled for use in dentures for the high and mighty. Most slaves are known to have had one or two missing front teeth.

The art of false teeth seems to have declined and fallen with the Roman empire. It certainly doesn't recur in European historical records until about 1500.

False teeth were made of ivory and kept in place by braces.

Bone china was not used in dentures until 1771. Only then were more people in a position to afford false teeth.

Fillings remained a matter of how much patients could afford to pay. The rich had gold, the poor lead hammered into the holes in their teeth.

It was a protracted procedure but fillings tended to stay put. The German word for filling, *Plombe*, is derived from *plumbum*, Latin for lead.

Dental treatment cost a fortune outside Europe too, often being undertaken for other than medical reasons.

The Mayas in Central America had precious stones inserted in their front teeth. It must have been extremely painful.

But the stones were both decorative and a protection from evil spirits, which the Mayas felt came from the throat. The stones were cemented using a paste made of pulverised teeth.

Until earlier this century Japanese noblewomen and girls of marriageable age went to great trouble to have their teeth dyed jet black as a mark of distinction.

In Western Europe people used to be more than happy not to have to submit to dental treatment. They only went to the bathing house or the village blacksmith when the pain was unbearable.

When a tooth was pulled the entire village looked on to see how courageously the patient underwent extraction.

Fairground artists and town criers performed to distract the patient's attention from the pain. Teeth were pulled without an anaesthetic, of course, and if the patient was lucky pain was all he suffered.

At times, with difficult, impacted teeth, jaws were broken. Pliers went by distinctive names such as pelicans and screws.

The idea was to pull the tooth by a turn of the screw, but often the tooth was in such poor condition that it snapped and broke.

Anaesthetics were introduced in the 19th century, laughing gas being accidentally found suitable by Horace Wells, an American.

Laughing gas parties were held, with party-goers taking gas as a narcotic. Wells had a tooth pulled under the influence and discovered that it didn't hurt.

When he first presented his discovery to a gathering of dentists he used too small a dose and his patient yelled and ran away, making a fool of him.

Wells is reported to have felt this failure was a challenge. He experimented on himself for so long that he became addicted to laughing gas and committed suicide in 1848.

His pupils Morton and Jackson went on to discover how to use chloroform in dental treatment.

Saint Apollonia is the patron saint of people with dental trouble and, presumably, of the Cologne denture exhibition.

She had all her teeth pulled in Alexandria in 249 AD rather than abjure the faith at a time when Christians were being persecuted.

*dpa*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 23 December 1986)

■ SOCIETY

# Over 50 per cent of Germans workers drink on the job

About five per cent of West Germany's workforce is suffering from alcohol-related illness, according to an official survey. Of every 100 employed Germans, 52 drink at work.

Eleven of those 52 drink on the premises every day; four drink four times a week; 10 drink either once a week or every fortnight; and the remaining 27 drink on certain occasions.

Ten per cent of the workforce is well on the way to becoming ill — that's another 2.5 million. The survey says the army of boozing ill has trebled since 1950.

The problem cuts across class and occupation and seniority: factory workers, office workers, bank workers, civil servants and professionals, managers and cleaners. There are 1.25 million people who, because of their dependence on alcohol, are 16 times as likely as other workers to take days off, who are ill 2.5 times as often and who are 3.5 times as likely to be involved in an accident at work.

Rita Russland, an official of the country's biggest trade union, IG Metall, says: "If it is accepted that the per head consumption of pure alcohol has increased over 30 years from three litres to 12 litres, then it must be accepted that every year the amount of alcohol consumed at work is also on the increase."

Some occupations have a reputation for being thirsty ones: foundry workers, glass blowers and cooks work in heat or dust. Journalists and company reps use drink as a social lubricant. He or she who sweats must drink a lot. He or she who mixes with people must drink a lot. Alcohol.

A report to the Bundestag suggested that the armed forces are sodden with the stuff. The same with the counter-espionage agency, the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (Office for the Protection of the Constitution).

In 1985, its third most senior official, Hansjoachim Tiedge, did a moonlight flit to East Germany. He was an alcoholic. That became clear from the post mortems after the flight. A Social Democrat member of the Bundestag said Tiedge was not the only soak in the organisation. There is talk of another 30 or so.

Some firms (Volkswagen is a notable example) have banned alcohol. But that is no guarantee of anything. The trade union magazine, *Der Gewerkschafter*, shows just what lengths drinking employees will go to to get their fix on to the premises: using oranges as schnaps containers; using wire containers to store hip flasks on the body; building dummy second exhaust pipes on cars for storage.

So other firms take a less dogmatic approach. They say total bans are not effective and only annoy the great majority of employees who don't abuse the booze.

Another survey has discovered 180 alcohol rehabilitation programmes in firms and government departments in Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin, Hesse and the Rhineland-Palatinate. Electronics group Bosch is one. Others are Bayer-Leverkusen and BASF (mainly chemicals), Thyssen and Klöckner (steel), Schering (pharmaceuticals) and the company which runs Frankfurt airport.

The workplace doesn't start anyone off on the road to dependency. Those not in danger aren't going to become drinkers at the desk or workbench. But for those who are prone, work is where they can get their first drink of the day. That can become a habit. Then comes the dependence.

Christian Hedder, a psychologist who works at a Hamburg advice centre handling addicts, says it is not absolutely clear why some people can drink large amounts of alcohol without becoming addicted while others get hooked on small amounts.

He says stress plays a role. When people cannot handle work-related stress, alcohol seems to relieve the pressure. "But it doesn't. It only leads to further problems."

Official statistics say 11 per cent of all workers admit they drink too much at work because of the stress. Factors such as noise, temperature changes, dust, steam, dampness, for example.

Or the stress can be developed in other ways. One example quoted was that of an electronic data-processing specialist who was sent on a special project with several colleagues to set up a new company branch. They worked long hours from early in the morning to late at night.

Just to cope, they got into the habit of buying a bottle of cognac to go with their fried chicken in the evenings. Soon, the drinking started before lunch. The project was completed in six months. The worker went back to a normal, 40-hour week, but his drinking habit remained. He eventually lost his job and his marriage nearly went on the rocks.

The economic damage is heavy, not only because of days lost through illness and accident, but also because of below-par performance. Some estimates say the alcoholic is only works at 75 per cent of efficiency — in other words, gets paid 25 per cent too much.

If the arithmetical projection is taken further, it would mean that a firm employing 100 earning an average of, say, 30,000 marks a year, would have five workers with alcohol-related illnesses working at 75 per cent efficiency — so more than 37,000 marks would be paid out each year for work that is not done.

The German employers' organisation, *Bundesverband der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände*, estimates the national loss at 17 billion marks a year. If the costs of accident and illness is included, the figure would be nearer 50 billion.

The huge electrics and electronics group, Siemens, estimates that alcohol costs it 60 million marks a year. In 1985 it paid out 10 million marks a year in sick pay for people known to be alcohol dependent.

A Berlin research group studied over one and a half years 5,700 employees in two civil service organisations in Bonn and found that there were 300 active alcoholics, 150 reformed alcoholics and another group of between 500 and 600 in danger from alcohol.

Bosch's scheme to reform the drinker is practised in its 42 works along lines drawn up in discussions between management and the works council. It was recognised that one of the characteristics of the alcoholic is that he or she will not act voluntarily. It is only when disaster threatens and there seems to be no other way out that he allows himself to accept treatment. So the Bosch scheme mixes advice with pressure and threat.

The employee first has an anonymous talk with a specialist worker at which he is told clearly that he must take treatment or get the sack. At this stage, the company administration is not even told. It will not be told, either, if everything goes to plan. But if the offender takes no action, both the company and the works council are notified.

New talks are then held and the offer is renewed with a four-week limit. If the offender still does not improve, a warning is issued and he gets another four weeks.

If still nothing happens, he is dismissed with the required period of notice. So the entire process for an errant employee can be as much as five months plus the length of notice.

Cases where employees first accept the offer of treatment and then return to their old ways are dealt with on merit, but usually the entire process begins again. Bosch have so far sacked no one under the scheme.

Such plans must necessarily be restricted in their application. Smaller firms cannot afford them. And more than half the firms in the country are small. Only 5 per cent have more than 500 employees.

But 52 per cent of the seven million workers in industry work for the big firms and so are beginning to be covered by rehabilitation schemes.

Perhaps the words of French aviator and author Antoine de Saint-Exupéry describe the situation best. He had one of his characters ask the alcoholic:

"Why do you drink alcohol?"
"Because I'm ashamed."
"Why are you ashamed?"
"Because I drink."

*Hans J. Geppert*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 11 January 1987)

Continued from page 9

seabed table mountains in the Pacific. Known as guyots, they are tiny continental splinters on the oceanic crust of the tectonic plates. They occur at depths of between 1,500 and 3,000 metres and are coated in a crust of ores.

It contains between 16 and 30 per cent of manganese, between eight and 20 per cent of iron, less than one per cent of nickel, over one per cent of platinum and about two per cent of cobalt.

Cobalt is urgently needed to produce high-grade steel, super alloys and high-temperature materials. Neither US nor Japanese nor European steelmakers have cobalt of their own to cater for demand.

They rely on imports from Zaire and South Africa, which between them enjoy a virtual monopoly in world markets.

Manganese nodules are blackish lumps that have taken shape on the seabed at depths of between 4,000 and 6,000 metres over millions of years. They occur in a density of between eight and 10 kilograms per square kilometre in many deep-sea basins in the world's oceans and are a virtually inexhaustible, if poorly accessible, source of metallic ore.

They contain nickel, copper, manganese, molybdenum and cobalt ore in percentages comparable to those found in continental ore deposits.

Deep-sea mining calls for the latest and most up-to-date mining and processing technology.

Preussag, a German mining and prospecting company, say it would only be profitable if, for instance, world market prices of nickel were to skyrocket.

Besides, there are still serious difficulties in connection with processing seabed ore. So much research remains to be done.

*Klaus Adam*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 December 1986)

# Police patrol Hamburg's Underground

Police have been patrolling Hamburg's underground trains after 10 at night for the past three months.

Hamburg's buses, trains and ferries carried almost 600 million passengers in 1985. During that year 1,194 crimes were committed in the system. The main crime was damage to property, 342 cases, theft (331 cases) and grievous bodily harm (175 cases).

Vandals who slash seating, rip waste baskets from their fittings, break windows and burn upholstery with cigarette ends caused damage totalling more than five million marks in 1985.

Offenders are not often caught. Rarely do passengers have enough courage to report vandals.

The problem is mainly concentrated on the underground system, the U-Bahn and S-Bahn. Buses suffer less from vandalism because they are constantly under the eye of the driver, who can, in cases of emergency, call for help over his radio.

Underground trains are unattended as they roar through tunnels and along isolated track with the driver out of sight in the front of the train.

The number of crimes committed on the underground, in relation to the number of passengers Hamburg's underground system carries, shows that the city is in no way comparable with New York.

But acts of violence in Hamburg's underground always hit the headlines, while street violence and trouble in pubs does not draw the same attention.

This is probably due to the fact that underground travellers believe that while they are travelling they should be protected by the city-state, but this idea has waned over the past few years as a result of drastic economy measures that have meant reduced staffing.

There are now vending machines for train tickets, replacing personnel who used to sell them. Usually there is only one railway staff member on a station to supervise traffic, supported by television monitors.

Quite recently proposals were made to operate trains by remote-control, without a driver, but this was met with a storm of protest.

Underground passengers, particularly the elderly, get irritated and feel themselves threatened by the unusual behaviour of some travellers, particularly younger people.

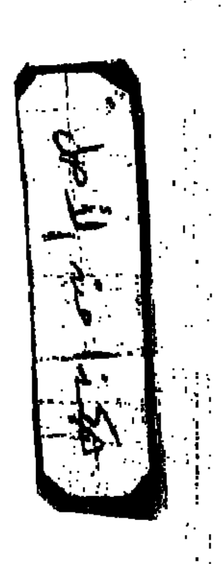
Senior citizens get offended when young people aggressively pester them for money for cigarettes, when skinheads or punk rockers push and shove about and when young people urinate through the open carriage door — a favourite way of demonstrating daring.

One of the police officers deployed in the underground patrols said that passengers felt a sense of anxiety when young passengers got in the compartment, dressed in an unusual way wearing, for instance, leather jackets, army boots or belts adorned with metal studs, the Heavy Metal Look in the words of fashion designers.

Or when they get on the train with brightly dyed hair and eye make-up and they laugh self-confidently and cynically in imitation of actors in films of violence.

It is not an offence to get on a train

Continued on page 15





■ HORIZONS

# German Press coverage of foreigners is slated for poor prejudice record

German newspapers are doing a terrible job covering topics involving foreigners, according to a report presented at a conference in Cologne.

Foreigners are ususally regarded favourably only if they are sportsmen, tourists or artists of one kind or another, said the report, by students of Münster University's journalism institute.

The study found that news reports about guest workers were mainly negative. Turks came off worst of all.

Professor Hans Janke, of the Adolf Grimme Institute in Marl, said in another report that the Press had a duty to breakdown prejudice and correct errors. If integration were to succeed, the media had to play a leading role. It wasn't playing this role well.

The journalism students vetted 20 daily newspapers, including tabloids, and illustrated magazines over eight months. Their report has been handed to the government-appointed Commissioner for Aliens' Affairs, Liselotte Funcke, who acts as an official watchdog on the issue.

The project was supported by the Centre for Turkish Studies in Bonn. The report said it was clear that minorities are still rejected. The reason seemed to be entrenched prejudiced. The survey discovered there seemed even to ignorance about why foreigners were in the country at all.

The German image of foreigners living here was described in a paper drawn up by an inter-ministerial committee some time ago. This document stated that Germans regarded foreigners as being in this country primarily to provide labour, but they were not regarded as a part of German society.

This observation has been consistently underpinned by the much-used expression "guest workers."

Frau Funcke's department and others believe this expression alone has caused people to regard foreign workers in quite a different light: they are looked upon as not only soulless robots but are accepted as being members of a totally alien culture, albeit equal in rank.

The expression "foreign fellow citizens" has also not done much to stimulate ideas of integration among the general public.

The words "fellow citizens," although well intended are empty so long as these "citizens" do not have the franchise in local government elections.

Frau Funcke does not regard integration as implying assimulation but allowing people to live in a foreign country side by side with fellow citizens without surrendering their own identity and culture.

She believes that another kind of awareness is necessary among the West German public.

Speaking to German journalists at the "Foreigners and the mass media" conference in Cologne she said: "In a country that believes in personal freedom and equal rights for all peoples, cultures and religions it goes without saying that being different is no reason for people to be discriminated against."

This conference was backed by the federal office for political education, based in Bonn, the West German Unesco Commission and the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.




It set out to throw some light on the question whether the media did use its opportunities to support cultural exchanges.

One of the themes Hans Janke from the Adolf Grimme Institute in Marl brought out in his paper at the conference was that the press had a duty to breakdown prejudice and correct error. If integration is to succeed the media has to be avantgarde in matters concerning foreigners.

The press does not do this very well, according to the report made by the 20 Münster students.

Professor Klaus Merten said that the eight-month study of newspaper reports revealed a sorry situation. He said: "News reports on guest workers were mainly negative reports."

According to the study "foreigners" were only regarded in a favourable light if they were tourists, sportsmen and women or artists of one kind or another.

Foreigners who worked or sought asylum here were invariably presented in an unfavourable light, and Turks working in this country were shown in a particularly poor light.

In the popular press and the local news pages of newspapers foreigners were presented as being "a threat to collective security or as people who just swelled the population figures."

The students reported that their study of press coverage of foreigners showed that the German public was particularly interested in foreigners when they were mentioned in police reports. At best performances by foreigner folklore groups was of enough interest to local editors to get comparable coverage.

The Münster survey showed that newspapers did not report the ordinary events in the lives of foreigners in this country, things that happened to foreigners generally or matters of cultural interest.

The Cologne conference revealed that television and radio did not do much better than the written word. Frequently in Cologne the comment was made that there should be an end to looking at ethnic affairs that shut out everything that was not German.

After 30 years of having foreign workers in this country the limited viewpoint of the media is astonishing as regards language and cultural matters.

In 1955 a West German-Italian agreement was concluded for recruiting Italian workers for West German industry. Similar bilateral agreements were made in 1960 with Spain and Greece, then with Turkey, Morocco, Portugal and Tunisia and finally in 1966 with Yugoslavia.

At present there are 4.4 million foreigners living in this country. Every seventh person in the population is part of an ethnic minority. Most surveys show that most of them will live here for a long time, if not for the rest of their lives.

This is particularly true of the second and third generation of foreigners who either came to the Federal Republic as small children or were born here. These young people should be given more attention by the media.

German publishers and editors have not taken note of the fact that a new readership is growing up around them. According to the participants in the Cologne conference, young foreigners only turn to German-language newspapers if they can read in them something about their immediate surroundings and concerning their interests.

Turkish newspaper publishers who sell their papers in the Federal Republic see this more clearly. They give considerable thought to how they can fill this market gap by providing reading matter to the second and third generation age group in this country.

But it should be mentioned, and this has been known for a long time, that Turkish newspapers sold in West Germany provide their Turkish readers with a lopsided view of the Federal Republic that knocks sideways all attempts at integration.

In Sweden, where every eighth person is of foreign origin, the consequences of this population pattern have been taken into consideration.

Swedish radio and television is duty-bound to take note of the interests of minority groups, according to Christina Rühnbro, speaking at the Cologne conference. This includes an obligation to inform Sweden's foreign communities on matters that are of interest and importance to them — cultural, political, economic and social events not only in Sweden itself but also in the countries from which the minority groups come.

To achieve this Swedish radio puts out 3,640 hours of broadcasts and television 231 hours of programmes annually in ten languages.

These programmes are designed not only to be a "bridge to home" but also act as a link to the listeners' and viewers' new life in Sweden.

Publishers of the printed word here are still backward in covering this demand in this country, but radio and television have made a few steps in the right direction.

The first television programme (ARD) and the Second Television Channel (ZDF) have for sometime screened special programmes for guest workers in various languages.

The Cologne conference took the view that this was not entirely satisfactory because the duration of the broadcasts was not long enough and the broadcasts for foreign workers cannot be picked up in many parts of the Federal Republic.

Favourable frequencies are frequently overlaid by programmes of non-stop classical music for the benefit of German listeners.

Television broadcasts for foreigner workers have for the time being been terminated because few guest workers watched them, and anyway television programmes for guest workers were often dropped to make room for live broadcasts of sporting events.

So the situation can be summed up as half-hearted solutions by ARD and ZDF and a disregard of chances to cater for foreign workers by newspapers and magazines.

The local broadcasting stations that are springing up all over the country can definitely fill a gap here, but even in Berlin, where there is a large foreigner population, there are no satisfactory radio and TV plans to cater for foreigners in the pipeline.

Very much to the point Otfried Jarren of the journalism and communications institute of Berlin University pointed out that the preconditions for providing an information service in line with a social welfare state, demanded and expected on principle by the German population, did not exist. The Cologne conference concluded by stating that from a language and cultural point of view the media in this country did little for ethnic minorities. This deficiency made it difficult, if not impossible, for these minority groups to participate satisfactorily in the social life around them.

But complaints about this situation are rarely voiced. Felix Rodriguez of the Catholic Mission in Bonn said that foreigners in West Germany were under considerable pressure to adjust to German conditions.

He said they are expected to draw as little attention to themselves as possible. If there is a will to bring foreigners out of their ghettoes and integrate them into German society "West German editorial boards must take the initiative and reach out to these groups."

A whole list of recommendations were made at the Cologne conference. The West German newspaper publishers and the journalists associations as well as ARD and ZDF would be well advised to take note of the proposals made.

It was suggested in Cologne that newspapers should employ young journalists whose activities should be aimed at the second and third generation of guest worker families in this country. Radio stations should appoint a foreigner to make suggestions for broadcasts for foreigner workers.

Journalists should also take note of language problems and not use it to put into the mouths of politicians words that smack of discrimination.

A representative of the West German Unesco Commission pointed out that the German press must take its watchdog responsibilities in this matter seriously.

*Christian Schneider*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 7 January 1987)

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looking like this, but when there is a police officer on the train these disturbing features lose their effect.

Police officer Wolfgang Molle confirmed that "rockers and rambo types" behaved themselves when they saw the police patrol and the average citizen traveller breathed a sigh of relief.

Police patrols have been called in to prevent violence and offensive acts in the trains. Hamburg citizens are apparently pleased with the results of a police presence in the underground at night.

A survey showed that 95 per cent of senior citizens and 83 per cent of women were happy to see police in the trains. Only seven per cent expressed displeasure at the arrangement.

Wolfgang Molle sits in the last carriage at the rear with his patrol dog, Karlo. From this position he and his muzzled dog can keep an eye on all the carriages.

Molle has noticed that young people keep a distance from him while older people chat with him, usually about the dog.

*Thomas Vinsor Wolgast*

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